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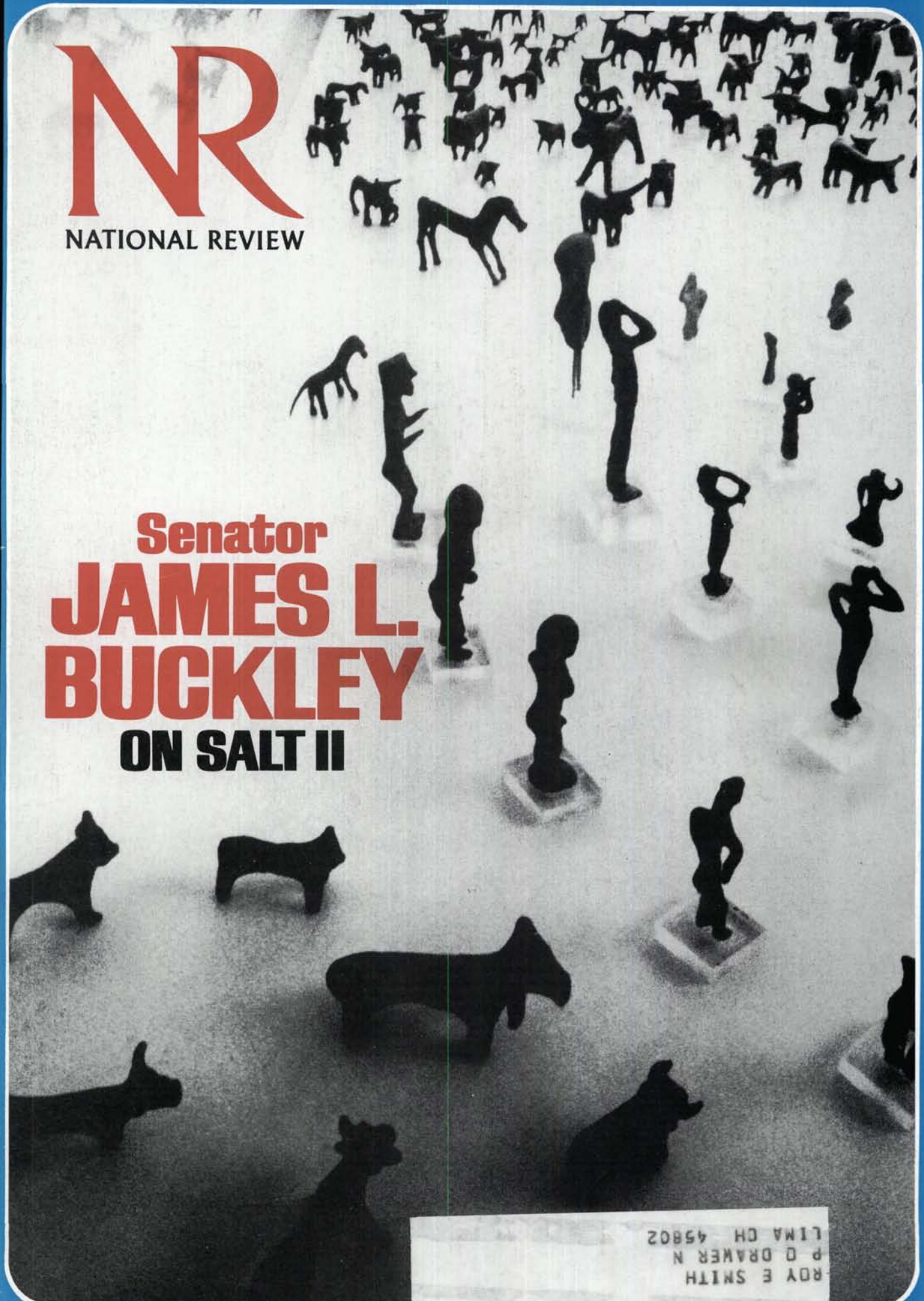

Senator JAMES L. BUCKLEY ON SALT II

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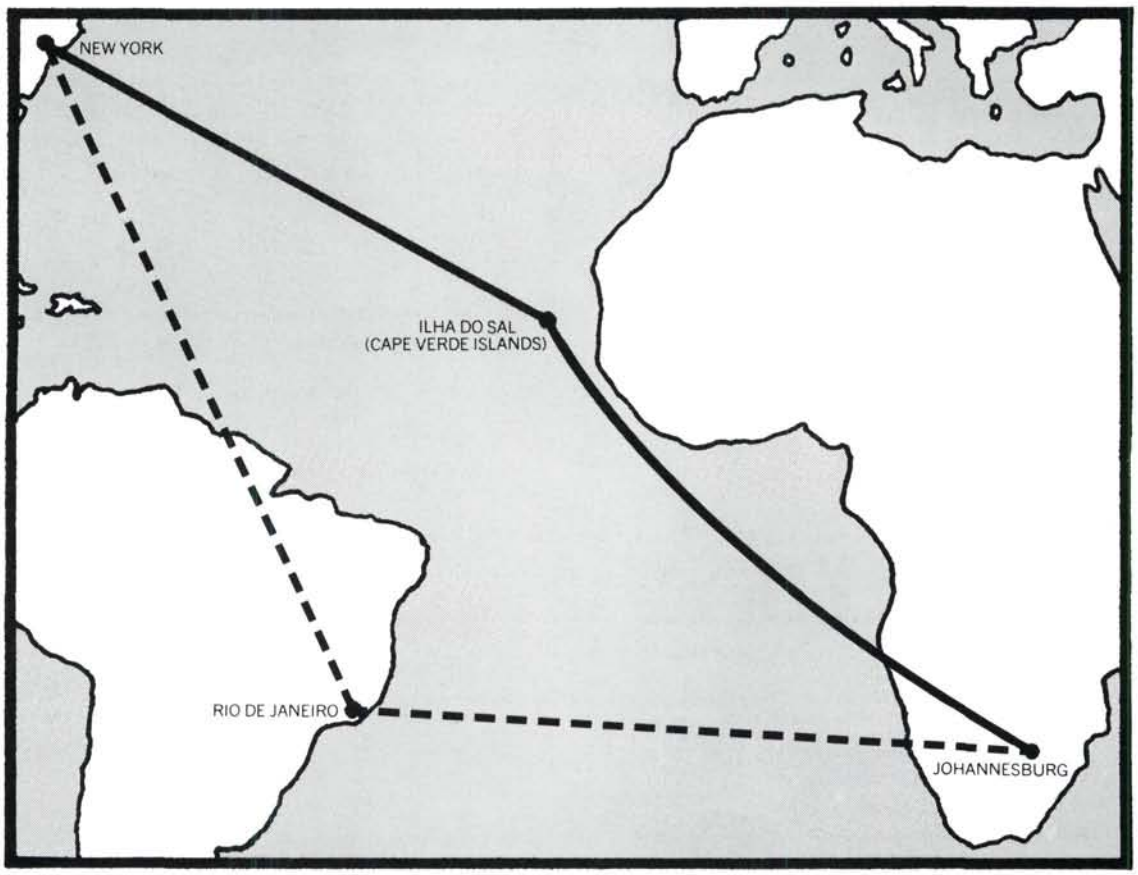

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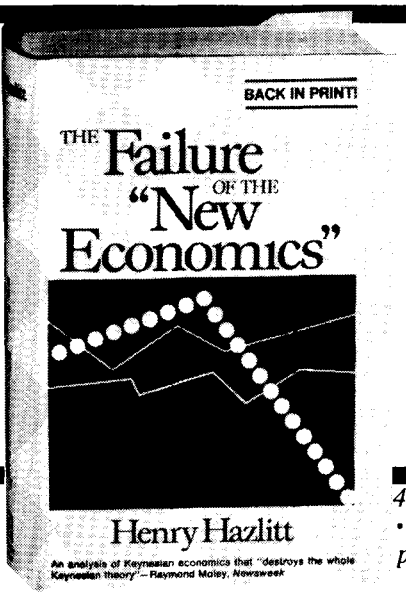

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Letters

Cave, Lector

James Jackson Kilpatrick's prose ["The Presidency Goes Nowhere," March 1] is wondrously readable, but *cave*, please. "It is nonsense to suppose," he says, "that the fate of the American Republic depends upon the fate of Richard Nixon." True, true. But it is not nonsense to suppose that the fate of the American Republic depends upon Richard Nixon: that is, not "upon *the fate of* Richard Nixon" but upon the man himself.

I mean to say that leadership is important. To the extent, for example, that Mr. Nixon is in a position to allow or not to allow the U.S. to fall hopelessly behind in defense, it can be said that America's fate depends upon him. Sure, America's fate, given the complexity of our politics, may not depend upon Richard Nixon; but then again it may. And Mr. Nixon should be judged accordingly—a judgment, I fear, that will put to rest any notion that he is one of us.

Washington, D.C. STANLEY HILLSBOROUGH

Hefner: Typical Playboy?

One of *Playboy*'s favorite ploys, when responding to a letter which takes issue with the so-called "Playboy Philosophy," is to suggest that the dissident writer is possessed of more than his share of sexual hangups (bad potty training or whatever).

An intellectual "cheap shot," to be sure, but hardly limited to *Playboy*—witness M. J. Sobran Jr. ["The Sage and Serious Doctrine of Hugh Hefner," Feb. 1], who says: "My guess is that *Playboy*'s typical reader is like Hefner himself: self-consciously tasteless."

Thanks, Sobran, but I'm not buying any. To proceed from a putdown of Hefner (who's an awfully easy target) to a slam on the magazine and then its readership is, well, damned unjustified.

The author ignores man's ability to separate the wheat from the chaff on his own hook. If 25 per cent of the material in *Playboy* is worthwhile (and that's about right, I think), it's still far ahead of most other publications. Hefner may indeed be a flannel-mouthed phony, but he is easily ignored. One just turns the page.

Honolulu, Hawaii JOHN M. FLINT

Neat article on *Playboy* by Mr. Sobran. Gas-bag puncturing of that type should be regular fare in *NR*.

Hugh Hefner has always reminded me of Charlie Tuna, obsessed with the trappings of good taste when the basic product is tawdry and cheap.

Arlington, Va. WILLIAM K. LANE JR.

The cover by Editta Sherman for the article, "The Sage and Serious Doctrine of Hugh Hefner," was one of your most striking. Unfortunately, M. J. Sobran Jr.'s article is superficial and disturbing.

One wonders if there is room in *NR* for that conservative tradition that owes more to Menno Simmons and Roger Williams than to Thomas Aquinas. Since most of Hefner's "philosophy" is derivative, attacking it is a facile means of attacking that from which it was derived. The apparent fragility of at least some of Mr. Hefner's arguments does not stem from the underlying precepts, but from the weakness of the advocate. Concerning such issues as abortion and censorship, Menno Simmons' words of over 400 years ago have immediate applicability: "where have you . . . read . . . , or heard, that Christ or the apostles called upon the power of the magistracy against those who would not hear their doctrine or obey their words? . . . I know to a certainty that wherever the government is to perform the ban with the sword, there is not the true knowledge, spirit, word, and church of Christ . . ."

New York, N.Y. ALAN G. HILL

Ten years ago I canceled a subscription to *Playboy* because I was quite tired of so many pages devoted to H. M. Hefner's "philosophy." It has been some distress to me that many magazines give him enough credence to debunk his jejune babble.

Salt Lake City, Utah BARRY E. MILLER

Of M. J. Sobran Jr.'s punishing article on *Playboy*, again the sad truth: some men prefer to live in the basement of themselves, that is, in sensations, appetites, and muscular activity.

New York, N.Y. JOHN F. KILEY

Lejeune's Rightist Fervor

Tony Lejeune has always been good value, but his rightist fervor (well to the right of

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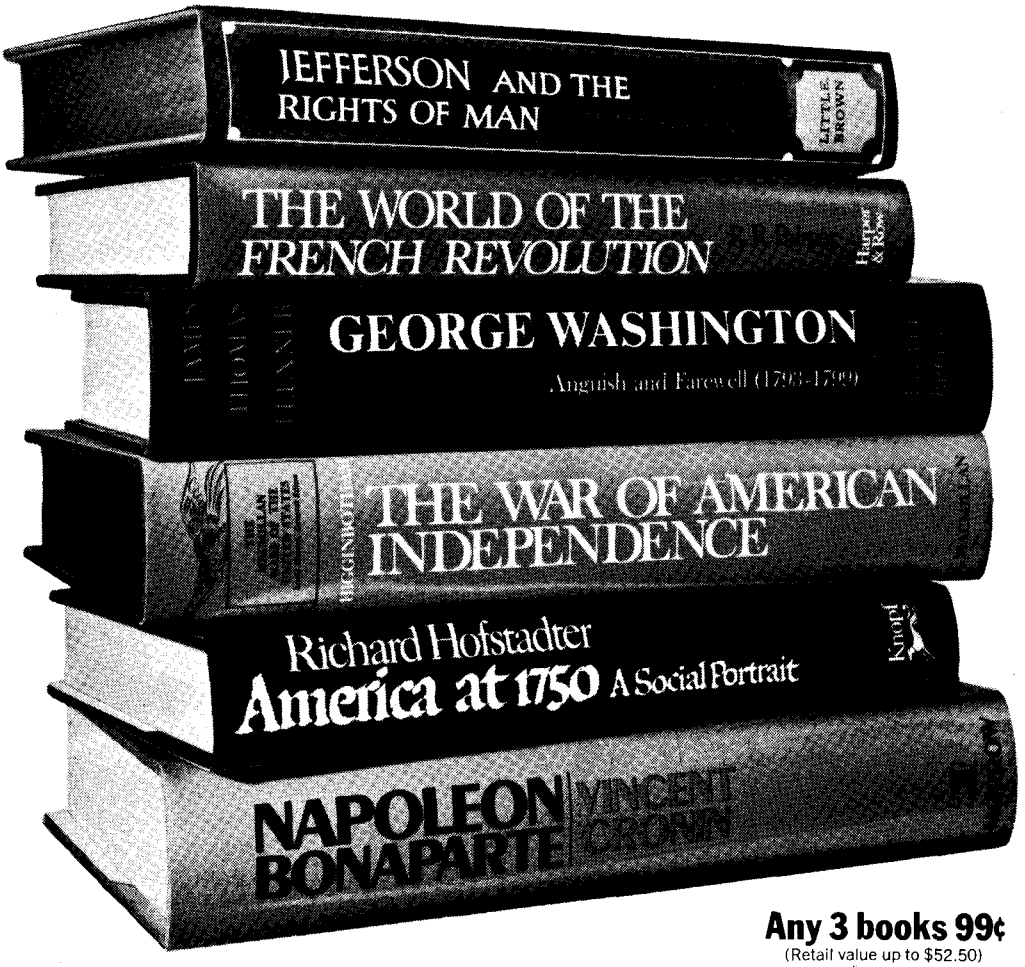

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most British Conservatives) occasionally drives him to assessments that could mislead Americans who do not know their Tony or their Britain quite as well as we do. His latest fear ["Britain's Rudderless Conservatives," Jan. 4] is lest the Liberal Party, in acquiring a quota of seats in the next Parliament that is a truer reflection of its following in the country (where it commands a tenth of the votes that go to Labor or the Conservatives) than the hundredth of the seats that fall to it at present, could let in the Socialists. In fact he gives no evidence to show the Liberal poll comes more from one side or the other or even, as seems most likely, from those who are undecided or would not otherwise vote at all, for the very good reason that there is no such evidence available.

It is true that the Liberals have made great advances at Tory expense in suburban and agricultural seats like Cheam or Rippon where the Labor Party had no chance anyhow. But it is just as true that they made the same progress at the Labor Party's expense in mining and industrial seats like Rochdale and Larnard Castle where the Conservatives have no chance anyhow.

Mr. Lejeune is quite right to say that the Liberals do not reflect any particular (financial or economic) interest; which is of course their great attraction. But in dismissing their MPs as lightweights he does rather outrage the plain facts. For example, the gentleman who Mr. Lejeune imagines owes his chief fame to a TV series about dog food happens to bear the name of Freud and had a grandfather in Vienna called Sigmund whom even Mr. Lejeune could not dismiss in his usual cavalier fashion of describing those who do not share his politics.

London GEORGE EDINGER

Quibbles

Re Thomas Molnar's letter [Feb. 15]:
Mr. Aram Bakshian
Is neither Angle nor Sakshian.
Mr. Molnar is somewhat harum-scarum
To thus label our Aram.

Rockport, Mass. NAN PAGET

A recent Anthony Dolan article ["What Ever Happened to the Welfare Crisis?" Feb. 1] begins: "When the late Charles Wiley quit his militant National Welfare Rights Organization . . ." I'm not sure which is more disturbing—the report of my death or identifying me with the welfare movement. I'm sure that I never had anything to do with the latter and I'm reasonably certain that I'm not dead.

George Wiley of NWRO, whom I debated on CBS-radio, suggested to the audience that they could tell us apart by our color.

Parlin, N.J. CHARLES W. WILEY

Ukrainian Nationalism

Erik v. Kuehnelt-Leddihn's article "Na-

(Continues on page 292)

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NR NATIONAL REVIEW VOL. XXVI, NO. 11 MARCH 15, 1974

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As the second round of SALT talks begins, Senator **James L. Buckley** explains in detail his misgivings. . . . **Egon R. Tausch** takes a hard look at some modish—and corrosive—clichés about West Point. . . . **Howard Phillips** calls our attention to HR 7824, which the Administration, strangely and regrettably, is pushing. Mr. Phillips is best remembered for his all-too-brief tenure last year as Acting Director of OEO, to which he brought the sort of reformism Carrie Nation might have brought to the post of bartender. He induced some salubrious bureaucratic cold turkeys, but the subsequent recidivism rate has been all too high. . . . Being "for" Solzhenitsyn is like being "for" the First Amendment, and there are those who think the moral of his experience is that the USSR ought to permit freedom of speech, vaguely understood as constructive criticism. But there is more to it than that, and **Gerhart Niemeyer** considers the special quality and meaning of Solzhenitsyn's mission, against both the recent background of Soviet politics and the larger one of the Western ideologies that authorize state terrorism. . . . **Harry V. Jaffa** reopens the *Lusitania* controversy. Armed? he asks. Then where's the evidence? . . . **D. Keith Mano** reports on a far-out feminist convention, complete with Yoko Ono. Pathos, and mucho macho. Or is it mucha macha? Quien sabe, anyway?

—MJS

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John Murray Cuddihy examines *Real Lace: America's Irish Rich* by Stephen Birmingham

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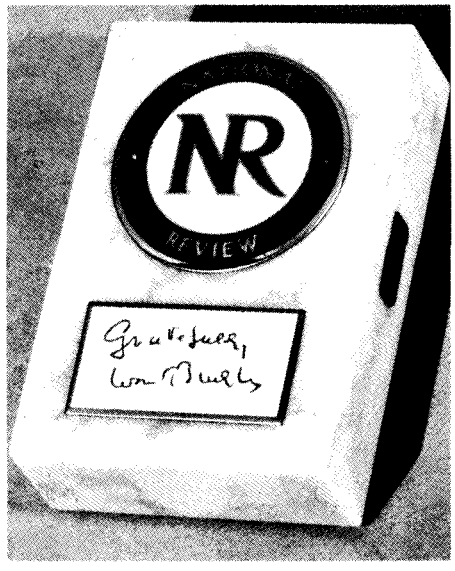

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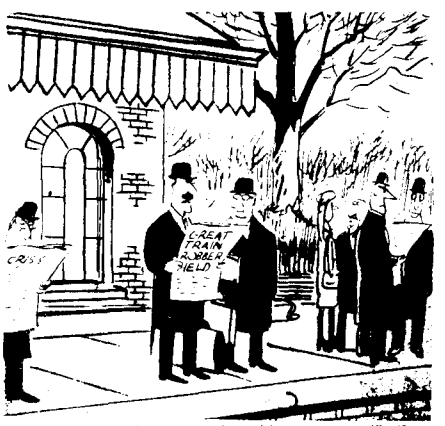
FOR THE RECORD

■ Watergate: Another new first—the first member or ex-member of the White House staff to come out for impeachment: **John K. Andrews Jr.**, a speechwriter until last December, said impeachment "may ultimately be interpreted as a conservative action." But he added he did not believe the President was criminally involved, only extremely negligent in moral leadership. . . . After looking at CIA logs, notes, and memoranda Rep. **Lucien Nedzi** (D., Mich.) has concluded the Agency did not destroy any Watergate-related tapes in a January '73 housecleaning. Early reports had fueled suspicion the Agency did more than lend a red wig to **Howard Hunt**. . . . **Dean Burch**, one-time **Barry Goldwater** aide and National Committee Chairman, has left his post as head of the FCC to help Nixon manage his conservative constituents; **Richard E. Wiley**, Chicago attorney and stalwart Nixon campaigner, named to replace Burch. . . . **John J. Wilson**, attorney for former Oval Officers **Haldeman** and **Ehrlichman**, said that, realistically, he expected them both to be indicted. . . . Some disclosures: Rep. **Ogden Reid** (once-Republican-now-Democrat, N.Y.) released a detailed financial statement, as requested by the *N.Y. Times*. Reid, running for governor, was the first candidate to make such a disclosure; he put his net worth at $4.1 million. Incumbent Governor **Wilson** said information on income and tax payments was irrelevant, and candidate **Howard Samuels** (former Off Track Betting king) disclosed his taxes but insisted total disclosure was invasion of privacy. Executives of the *N.Y. Times* have not yet responded to Sen. James Buckley's counter-request for *their* financial statements.

■ Meanwhile President **Nixon** has appointed Vice President **Ford** to head a commission to investigate privacy. . . . The Vice President's image is being retooled: following the loss of his old safe seat to a Democrat, the VP came out swinging at a campaign rally in Cincinnati for Republican candidate **Willis D. Gradison Jr.**, blaming "labor outsiders" for Republican losses. Still, unlike his predecessor, Ford is willing to fly in any "off the rack" plane from the Air Force pool and take whatever pilot is available. . . . Plenty of congressmen are retiring but others are waiting to take their places—and the places of those not retiring voluntarily: **David G. Rehmann**, 31 years old, a POW for six years, has announced he will run for Republican congressional nomination in California's 34th District—a seat now held by a Democrat. Major **Steve Ritchie**, also 31, only American ace of the Vietnam war (five MiG-21s in 1972), will go after the Republican nomination for the Sixth District, North Carolina, also held by a Democrat.



Cookson, *London Evening News* Rothco

"They'd have never managed it today. The train would probably have been canceled."

■ Energy: **Young Americans for Freedom** has given birth to a new organization to aid the nation in its time of energy crisis: **YES (Youth for the Energy Solution)**, taking the free market approach, will try to stop government meddling in oil. . . . But: the Federal Government has an **Office of Coal Research** which is to be expanded/contracted (guess one) to help the nation turn coal into gas—another shortage can only be just around the corner. . . . Hoist by their own petard dep't: **Arab diplomats** at the UN are demanding that special provisions be made so they can get all the gas they want, and without waiting in line. They should have been prepared: an Aramco (Arabian-American Oil Co.) official has revealed that Saudi Arabia warned the company last August there would be war, followed by an embargo. . . . **Women members** of UN delegations took over (by arrangement) the General Assembly hall for a forum last week but male attendance was sparse. . . . Seems women don't know everything: e.g., **Mrs. Salvador Allende**, speaking at the UN not just for herself as widow of the "murdered president" but for hundreds of widows (her husband committed suicide), said many Chileans were now being "persecuted with a cruelty only comparable to that exercised by Hitler's Nazis." She forgot about the Soviets and the Chinese—who were busy at work last week. The **Soviets** arrested 12 citizens of German origin who were demonstrating for permission to emigrate to West Germany. The **Chinese** meanwhile were stirring up the Cultural Revolution, **Chou En-lai** saying that "the Chinese people are determined to carry this campaign through to the end." Whose end he didn't say.

Sen. **James Buckley** (C.-R., N.Y.) has started distributing a weekly column to N.Y. state newspapers. . . . Also in New York $25,000 has been given to a former **Lindsay** aide to write the final report of the Lindsay Administration (conflict of interest?), i.e., to pretty up the mishandling of the second toughest job in America. Getting ready for Lindsay run against Buckley in '76?

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The Lazy Man's Way to Riches

'Most People Are Too Busy Earning a Living to Make Any Money'

I used to work hard. The 18-hour days. The 7-day weeks.

But I didn't start making big money until I did less—a *lot* less.

For example, this ad took about 2 hours to write. With a little luck, it should earn me 50, maybe a hundred thousand dollars.

What's more, I'm going to ask you to send me 10 dollars for something that'll cost me no more than 50 cents. And I'll try to make it so irresistible that you'd be a darned fool not to do it.

After all, why should you care if I make $9.50 profit if I can show you how to make a *lot* more?

What if I'm so sure that you *will* make money my Lazy Man's Way that I'll make you the world's most unusual guarantee?

And here it is: I won't even cash your check or money order for 31 days *after* I've sent you my material.

That'll give you plenty of time to get it, look it over, try it out.

If you don't agree that it's worth *at least a hundred times* what you invested, send it back. Your *uncashed* check or money order will be put in the return mail.

The only reason I won't send it to you and bill you or send it C.O.D. is because both these methods involve more time and money.

And I'm already going to give you the biggest bargain of your life.

Because I'm going to tell you what it took me 11 years to perfect: How to make money the Lazy Man's Way.

O.K.—now I have to brag a little. I don't mind it. And it's necessary—to prove that sending me 10 dollars... which I'll keep "in escrow" until you're satisfied... is the smartest thing you ever did.

I live in a home that's worth $100,000. I know it is, because I turned down an offer for that much. My mortgage is less than half that, and the only reason I haven't paid it off is because my Tax Accountant says I'd be an idiot.

My "office," about a mile and a half from my home, is right on the beach. My view is so breathtaking that most people comment that they don't see how I get any work done. But I do enough. About 6 hours a day, 8 or 9 months a year.

The rest of the time we spend at our mountain "cabin." I paid $30,000 for it—cash.

I have 2 boats and a Cadillac. All paid for.

We have stocks, bonds, investments, cash in the bank. But the most important thing I have is priceless: time with my family.

And I'll show you just how I did it—the Lazy Man's Way—a secret I've shared with just a few friends 'til now.

It doesn't require "education." I'm a high school graduate.

It doesn't require "capital." When I started out, I was so deep in debt that a lawyer friend advised bankruptcy as the only way out. He was wrong. We paid off our debts and, outside of the mortgage, don't owe a cent to any man.

It doesn't require "luck." I've had more than my share, but I'm not promising you that you'll make as much money as I have. And you may do better; I personally know one man who used these principles, worked hard, and made 11 million dollars in 8 years. But money isn't everything.

It doesn't require "talent." Just enough brains to know what to look for. And I'll tell you that.

It doesn't require "youth." One woman I worked with is over 70. She's travelled the world over, making all the money she needs, doing only what I taught her.

It doesn't require "experience." A widow in Chicago has been averaging $25,000 a year for the past 5 years, using my methods.

What *does* it require? Belief. Enough to take a chance. Enough to absorb what I'll send you. Enough to put the principles into *action*. If you do just that—nothing more, nothing less—the results *will* be hard to believe. Remember—I guarantee it.

You don't have to give up your job. But you may soon be making so much money that you'll be able to. Once again—I guarantee it.

The wisest man I ever knew told me something I never forgot: "Most people are too busy earning a living to make any money."

Don't take as long as I did to find out he was right.

I'll prove it to you, if you'll send in the coupon now. I'm not asking you to "believe" me. Just try it. If I'm wrong, all you've lost is a couple of minutes and an 8-cent stamp. But what if I'm right?

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"I have examined this advertisement. On the basis of personal acquaintance with Mr. Joe Karbo for 18 years and my professional relationship as his accountant, I certify that every statement is true."

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Joe Karbo
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Sunset Beach, California 90742

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If I return your material—for *any* reason—within that time, return my *uncashed* check or money order to me. On that basis, here's my ten dollars.

☐ Please send Air Mail. I'm enclosing an extra dollar.

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5-73

(Continued from page 288)

tionalism and the Ukraine" [Jan. 4] wa excellent considering its limited scope. Al though NATIONAL REVIEW is probably nc the proper forum for an extended study o the Ukraine and Eastern Europe, there i a need for more articles in the America press dealing with the heritage and aspira tions of Eastern Europe.

In any event, I would like to verify tha Ukrainians do want their own nation. An this is just one of many Eastern Europea aspirations of which Americans are s ignorant.

Monaca, Pa. RICHARD FALTENOVICI

Whenever political commentators are un able to explain a social or historical phe nomenon, they tend to categorize it as a "paradox." There is really nothing para doxical or unique about Ukrainian nation alism. Ukrainian nationalism is simply th product of a distinct nation with a lon history of bloody opposition to all at tempts by its predatory neighbors at elim inating its national identity.

Although the Ukraine has suffered fo centuries under foreign rule, a Ukrainia has never had any difficulty in distinguish ing an alien from a fellow Ukrainian. Tc assume that the Ukraine would have sus tained tens of millions of casualties simply because of some artificial imposition by Austria or the Central Powers is patently absurd.

In short, Ukrainians are no more "para doxical" than the Irish, Italians, Algerians, Greeks, and dozens of other nations which struggled for centuries to free themselves from foreign colonialism and occupation.

New York, N.Y. GEORGE WOLOSHYN

Should He . . .

Mr. Buckley claims that, because Judge Byrne was incapable of aiding the prosecution in the case against Ellsberg even if he wanted to ["On the Right," Dec. 21], Ehrlichman's motives in offering him the directorship of the FBI must have been pure and honest, since it would do no good to influence Judge Byrne. To the contrary, recent history suggests that, if trying to influence Byrne was the stupidest, most futile, and most asinine thing Nixon's aides could have done, it is likely that they did exactly that. Mr. Buckley is forgetting that the Nixon White House breeds its own kind of logic.

Poughkeepsie, N.Y. MICHAEL CUTLER

He should be impeached because he is a socialist.

Santa Barbara, Calif. GARVAN F. KUSKEY

. . . or Shouldn't He?

I recently signed up for a subscription to *NR* and in my first issue find a letter to the editor from Mr. Donald A. Neidhardt [Jan. 4] informing you he is dropping his

(Continues on page 295)

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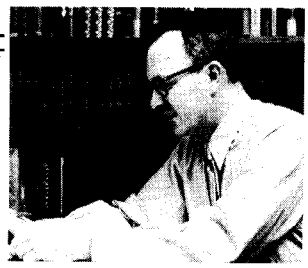

Economist William F. Rickenbacker answers 4 more investment questions about the coming

World-Wide Depression:

The International Monetary Fund is planning to eliminate gold as the world monetary standard on the grounds that it is archaic. Does that mean that the bottom will drop out of gold and gold stock prices?

Calling gold archaic doesn't make it archaic. Far from being a "barbarous relic," gold is the most widely used store of value among individuals. Even among those official bankers who most noisily assail it as an archaism it is the one asset most tenaciously held in central bank reserves. It is simply out of the question that gold will ever become an unwanted commodity. Nevertheless, if all the bankers of the world go crazy simultaneously and dump their gold on the free market because they think paper money is more valuable or more stable, there is no doubt in my mind that the initial effect will be a sharp drop in the price of gold (with a less pronounced drop in the price of silver). But it is worth remarking that the bankers will not dump gold willingly at a loss; in order to guarantee the strongest possible demand they will want to legalize the ownership of gold as widely as possible. The great new supply of gold will be matched by a great new demand. The price drop may be sharp but extremely shortlived. Over the long run, with industrial use of gold exceeding the quantity of new production and with paper money being managed by the same folks who gave us administrative chaos in every capital of the world, the price of gold in terms of junk money can go nowhere but up.

What will happen to the economy, the stock market, and to the price of gold if the fuel shortage turns out to be a phony?

The fuel problem is almost wholly a political baby. It will disappear in a few months if the politicians decide to ignore it. Then the same old forces will continue to work as they were working before the fuel question hit the front pages. Interventionist policies and anti-economic decisionmaking will continue to stultify the economy. Monetary inflation will continue on a worldwide basis. Stock prices will tend to rise as investors flee from cash into more tangible forms of wealth.

How will devaluation of the yen, the franc, or the pound affect my investments?

Devaluation has no effect on strictly domestic businesses. If the devaluation occurs in the context of floating exchange rates and is therefore an expression of economic freedom, it will lubricate the channels of world trade and have a benign effect on all economic functions, including the general level of stock prices. If the devaluation is, instead, a coercive political maneuver hatched up for purposes of mercantilist competition, it can only have a disruptive and malignant effect. Unfortunately, it appears that we are at the brink of a period of international competition based on monetary manipulation.

Some of the best blue-chip stocks have plummeted in price to tempting lows, while gold and silver have skyrocketed to prices that seem ridiculously high. Is this a good time to sell precious metals and buy blue-chip stocks?

If you have been short-term trading in gold and silver, it's no mistake to take profits after a sharp runup. But I think every portfolio should maintain a basic position in these metals undisturbed, perhaps amounting to thirty per cent of total market value, until the monetary situation has really cleared up. As to buying blue chips: of course. But be prudent. An assortment of major American corporations, bought at less than ten times earnings, and yielding six or seven per cent on the cash dividend, can hardly do you damage.

The Worst Financial Panic in History?

Free Market economist William F. Rickenbacker has built his reputation for superbly accurate financial analysis on this simple fact: money markets . . . stock and bond markets . . . precious metals and other commodity markets must *always* be treated as *PEOPLE who are operating the law of supply and demand with unfailing dependability.* The people who make these markets can not be manipulated or fooled indefinitely by monetary "managers" who think that they can defy the natural laws of economics by fixing the price of gold or by falsifying the real value of a currency, as they have sought to do with the International Monetary Fund.

How well does Bill Rickenbacker's concept of free market economics work? In his book, *Wooden Nickels* he predicted that silver coins would *vanish* and that the price of silver would skyrocket. In *Death of the Dollar* he predicted the current international monetary crisis . . . the devaluation of the dollar and the accelerating inflation that are here now. In his investment advisory service, the RICKENBACKER REPORT, he continues to analyze earth-shaking monetary events yet to come — events that could trigger the worst depression in history and wipe out all but the most hard-headed, practical-minded investors.

The RICKENBACKER REPORT is the first investment advistory service expressly designed to take full advantage of *free market economics*, at a time when the theory of "manipulation economics" is literally falling apart! 24 times a year, the RICKENBACKER REPORT interprets the current financial scene and provides you with privileged information on common stocks and corporate bonds, gold and silver, and research visits, in person by Bill Rickenbacker, to companies of particular interest.

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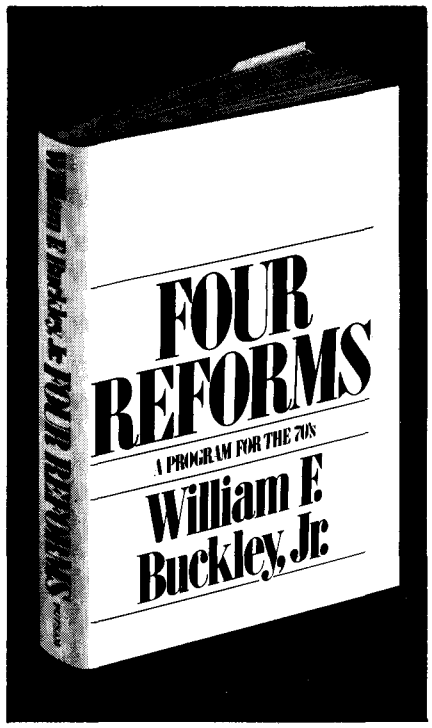

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subscription to *NR* because your magazine did not call for the impeachment of Mr. Nixon.

I had to laugh out loud when I read it . . . because I just dropped *Newsweek* in favor of your magazine because you have *not* taken such a stand.

Just thought you would like to know this.

Linwood, Pa. JOHN T. LAMPLUGH

I am convinced that behind the present-day impeachment campaign are two groups. There is a group of loyal Americans who, antagonized by Watergate, the news about the President's second White House in California, and the dismissal of Professor Cox, see in President Nixon's actions a threat to our constitutional system. But there is also another group: the Communists and their fellow travelers, who are making every conceivable effort to sow dissension in our republic, and who realize that by weakening our governmental structure they strengthen the military and political position of their Communist bosses in Moscow.

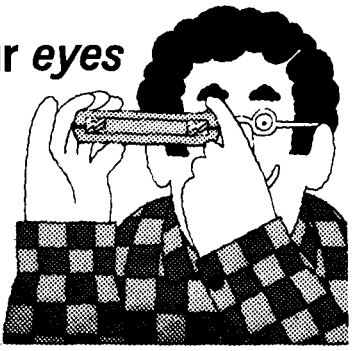
I therefore urge all members of the Congress to forgo all partisan and personal advantages and to pursue a course that will strengthen rather than weaken our highest levels of government. If I were a member of the House of Representatives, I would seek a rapid and rational answer to the question whether the President deserves to be impeached. If the answer to this question is "yes," I would ask the President to resign, or impeach him. If the answer to this question is "no," I would give President Nixon every possible support.

This is not the time to play with the stability of the executive branch of our government. Critical as I may be about some of President Nixon's domestic and foreign policy moves (I, for one, have no confidence whatever in the Soviet willingness to accept a genuine detente), I am not convinced there is enough evidence against him to warrant impeachment. If I had to choose again right now, I would still—however reluctantly—choose Richard Nixon over George McGovern.

The Jewish Bible, for very good reasons, does not contain those passages which were compiled many years after Jesus of Nazareth had been crucified by the Romans, but I have read in the New Testament of the Christian Bible—and I hope Senator Kennedy has read it too—that Jesus, imbued with the lessons taught by Judaism, is supposed to have said: "Judge not, that ye be not judged. For with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged . . . And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?"

New York, N.Y. JOSEPH HALEVI DUNNER

Now . . . let your *eyes* do the measuring!



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THE WEEK

■ MEDICAL NOTES. New York City is considering single-story firehouses since a study has established that 69 firemen were injured sliding down fire poles last year. Children facing surgery at the Garland Clinic & Hospital in Texas ride to the operating room in a little red wagon. A man in Flora, Indiana was taking a soothing bath when his wife told him there was a snake in the bedroom. He jumped out of the tub and ran into the bedroom, getting down on hands and knees to look for the snake. At this critical moment, the family dog pattered up from behind and poked him with its nose. The man fainted. The wife phoned for an ambulance, thinking he had been bitten by the snake. As the man was being placed on the stretcher, the snake reappeared, the wife yelled "snake," and the ambulance attendant dropped the patient, breaking his collarbone.

■ Ralph Nader wears Army dress shoes, but that doesn't mean he lacks compassion for those who injure their knees, ankles, and backs falling from high platform and stiletto-heeled shoes. He has now called for federal standards in the matter. Soon we'll all wear oxfords with flat, round soles and a buzzer that sounds when they aren't laced properly; the sprained ankle will be a thing of the past, and the priority-reordering program can move on to remedying the shocking nutritional deficiencies of goldfish food.

■ CULTURAL NOTES. Mr. Antoni Masek has established a world record by driving from Tyn nad Vltavou, Bohemia to Ceske Budejovice, and back again, a distance of some 40 miles, blindfolded. In Seattle, two carloads of malicious teenagers pulled into a closed filling station and parked by the gas pumps. Presently other motorists got into line. When the teenagers left two hours later, the line of fuming motorists behind them was three blocks long and growing. In Chicago, a group is planning a "chamber music concert to impeach Nixon." And a happy birthday to Ralph Nader, who turned 40 on the 27th and still doesn't trust anyone over thirty.

■ Ronald Reagan will not run for a third term as governor of California and so the race for the Republican nomination is on. The two hopefuls are Lieutenant Governor Edwin Reinecke and State Controller Houston Flournoy. Reinecke, who had been Reagan's choice, is the more conservative of the two but has image problems, obscurely related to Watergate, which make many California Republicans doubt he can win in November. Flournoy therefore is getting the support of many of the most influential Reagan supporters and has indicated that he will not dismantle the programs Governor Reagan has introduced, which have brought some sanity to big government in California. Governor Reagan, who has shifted to neutrality, should be in a position to make peace within the party, if necessary, following the June primary. In spite of Flournoy's liberal record, the Reagan supporters prefer him, fearing that a Democratic win might undo the Reagan record and also damage his chances for the White House.

■ The sighs of relief were audible. After years, almost two decades, of violence from the Left, there was in the kidnapping of *Atlanta Constitution* editor J. Reginald Murphy the hope that the political Right might be involved. That was not to be underplayed. One major newspaper gave the unknown American Revolutionary Army (as the Murphy kidnappers called themselves) parallel coverage with the Symbionese Liberation Army. Editorials deplored extremism "both right and left." In fact, as James Burnham points out (see "The Protracted Conflict") virtually all of the known and emerging terrorist groups are what he terms "ultra-Marxist" in character. The American Revolutionary Army, though liberal publications tended to give it "equal time" with the Symbionese, can scarcely balance that historical fact. And indeed, from the straight news accounts, and despite the statements of the "Colonel" Williams who abducted Murphy, the indication is that the ARA—of which the kook Colonel is quite possibly the sole member—was out for the cash. Still, we hate to deprive our liberal colleagues of the relief they found in the incident. As columnist Harriet Van Horne put it: "If there had to be a second kidnapping, however, we should perhaps be grateful that it's *right wing* terrorists this time."

■ There is "a growing anti-Soviet mood in the country," according to one *New York Times* report. Another notes, rather coyly, that "the intellectual community has been growing more chary of the Communists." Congress has responded by keeping our tariffs up, yet Americans are surely less concerned about importing cheap vodka than about exporting cheap wheat. American businessmen are still falling all over themselves in the rush to sell rope to the hangmen. Manufacturers Hanover Trust has published a rather romantic internal brochure, subtitled "Some Observations of a Latter Day Marco Polo," advocating vastly expanded trade with Red China. Chase Manhattan opened a Moscow office, underwrote part of the Soviet wheat deal, and loaned the Soviets $86 million for a truck plant. A dozen U.S. executives, including Armand Hammer of Occidental Petroleum and Richard Gerstenberg of General Motors, are bringing 20 Soviet bureaucrats to their local communities to generate support for future wheat deals, with payment by credit subsidized by U.S. taxpayers. If it works, it may be the pr coup of the century.

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■ ECONOMIC NOTES. Two Soviets have been sentenced to lie before a firing squad for the crime of selling building materials and fertilizer, bringing the total of those hot for economic crimes in the USSR to about 50 for he last three years. However, in case you worry that the commissars lack compassion, a 117-year-old man has been hired in Uzbekistan, as a traffic cop. Back home, a PPG Industries worker whose suggestion saved his company enough energy to heat 120 homes for a year has been given a turkey as a reward. The good news: he Export-Import Bank has loaned $1,462,500 to Liberia to buy Liberian President Tolbert an executive jet.

■ CBS, it transpires, makes all its employees sign an agreement that "any 'idea' (a writing, discovery, invention, design, or intellectual or artistic property or creation of any kind or nature) which relates to or is suggested by my work for you, whether or not during working hours or alone or jointly with others, shall be promptly disclosed to you and shall become your sole property." There were other conditions too, summed up by John Leonard of the *N.Y. Times Book Review* as "pretty exhaustive, as well as sounding faintly ecclesiastical." He cracked: "If you want to spend your weekends writing a novel about corporate megalomania, CBS owns it," which is of course taking it pretty literally, though on the other hand legal contracts aren't usually construed metaphorically. So far, so good. But then he added that it was also "probably unconstitutional," which suggests his interpretation of the First Amendment is pretty exhaustive, and faintly ecclesiastical.

■ LAW-AND-ORDER NOTES. A Maryland sheriff, charged with letting a prisoner out of jail and sending him, unescorted, to do work on the sheriff's house, is being defended by his lawyer on grounds that he is an "ignorant man." In Florida, Mr. John Mitzel, 25, jailed on a traffic misdemeanor charge, got bored waiting for a bail bondsman and picked the cell lock with a matchbook cover and strolled unnoticed through the jail. He then hailed policemen over to his cell and showed them how to pick the lock. Police chief Albert Cline, calling Mitzel a "public spirited citizen," ordered a bolt lock for the cell. In Nashville, Mr. George Mitchell is back in the stir for unprovoked assaults on the insteps of Linda Simmons, Sheila Gibson, and Judy Hicks. The women all testified that Mitchell had walked up to them and, without saying a word, stomped on their feet. Mitchell has served two previous one-year jail terms for foot-stomping.

■ The British election takes place after this issue of *NR* goes to press, but its result is not likely to contradict what the campaign seemed to be saying: 1) Britain is in worse and more general trouble than at any time since the war. 2) None of the three major parties offered a program or set of leaders adequate to confront the trouble. 3) There will not be a parliamentary majority large and solid enough to constitute a base for a firm and effective government even if there were the leadership and program. 4) There is therefore not much chance for a quick improvement in Britain's critical condition, and a considerable chance of its worsening. 5) It will not be surprising if another general election is called before this year is out. And 6) wouldn't it be wonderful if our election campaigns were as short as Britain's?

■ The economists of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, based in Paris, are on strike. Good Keynesians all, they have long advocated policies that helped push the French inflation rate above 12 per cent. Now, it seems the OECD economists want frequent cost-of-living adjustments in their own salaries. The irony is that "money illusion" plays an important part in Keynesian theory. Though they generally concede that a reduction in wages will stimulate employment, Keynesians argue that this is best accomplished by raising prices and thus reducing real wages. Employees are not supposed to react to a cut in real wages as they would to a cut in nominal wages. Unless, of course, the employees in question have studied Keynesian economics.

■ Again the question arises, who are the liberals, who the conservatives, in the Soviet Union? Dissident Zhores Medvedev (see p. 320) calls Solzhenitsyn and his friends "liberals" though Solzhenitsyn is an old-fashioned Russian patriot, perhaps even a theocrat (unlike Medvedev himself, who is more like a Western liberal or social democrat). Brezhnev himself is hardly a conservative, except in terms of the domestic status quo (by which standard some of us at *NR* are radicals)—but then he's nobody's idea of a liberal either. We aren't the only ones with a good claim to be called conservatives, and we aren't inclined to fight over this: but we are touchy still about the way the *N.Y. Times*, for instance, taxonomized the Czech struggle in 1968 as one between "liberal" and "conservative" forces, thereby suggesting, misleadingly, that the political situation there was parallel to what the *Times* perceives as our own. It has historically been the liberals of the West who have encouraged the regimes of Stalin and Mao, so the situation is a little more com-

Weicker Sings to Ervin

I don't want to play in your yard;
  I don't like you anymore.
You can't be on my committee . . .
  Kindly quit my cellar door.
I believed you were progressive;
  Javits said you knew the score.
Really, Senator, how could you
  Bring up busing on the floor?

W. H. VON DREELE

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plicated than . . . well, anyway, the *Times* has been pretty good about this lately. Now if we can only get through to Medvedev.

■ The Philippines were just settling down after the brouhaha over martial law when last month's full scale battle between government troops and Moslem insurgents broke out on Jolo Island. The insurgents, who felt martial law was hitting them harder than the Christians, had taken over several of the Sulu Islands a year ago; February's battle apparently resulted from the government's efforts to dislodge them. The government says the insurgents are Maoists. The insurgents claim they are merely a distinct religious and ethnic group trying to gain autonomy. Probably the movement's origin was in fact religious, but even more probably (see "The Protracted Conflict") it has by now absorbed the global ultra-Marxist infection.

■ At the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, nutritionists and agricultural scientists branded organic foods "dangerous nonsense." *NR* contributor Dr. Thomas H. Jukes said the stuff was "counterproductive to human welfare." Dr. Steven Barrett, a Pennsylvania physician, said its promoters "misinterpret scientific data for personal gains." It's enough to make Ralph Nader go back to Sugar-Pops and Spaghetti-O's.

Scope of the Disaster

So many high and middle level Administration figures have become enmeshed in the various scandals that it is difficult to keep track of the state of play. Herewith a rundown.

1. Herbert Kalmbach, the President's personal lawyer, has pleaded guilty to a felony and a misdemeanor in connection with secret campaign contributions. He is cooperating with the prosecutors and has not yet been sentenced.

2. Former Attorney General John Mitchell and former Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans are standing trial on charges of obstruction of justice, conspiracy, and perjury.

3. Former assistants to the President John Ehrlichman, Egil Krogh, David R. Young Jr., and G. Gordon Liddy have been indicted for perjury, burglary, and conspiracy, in connection with the breaking in at Dr. Fielding's office. Krogh has pleaded guilty to a conspiracy charge, is serving a six-month sentence, and is cooperating with the prosecutors. The others named here have pleaded not guilty and the trial is set for March.

4. Frederick C. LaRue, a former assistant to H. R. Haldeman and a leading "Southern operative" in the White House, has pleaded guilty to conspiracy to obstruct justice in the Watergate affair. Sentence has been deferred and he is cooperating with the prosecutors.

5. Former presidential appointments secretary Dwight L. Chapin was indicted on Nov. 29 on four counts of perjury connected with his dealing with Donald H Segretti, who, in turn, has pleaded guilty to one count of conspiracy and three counts of distributing illegal campaign literature. Segretti is serving six months.

6. Former presidential counsel John W. Dean III and former presidential aide Jeb Stuart Magruder have both pleaded guilty to charges of conspiracy to obstruct justice and defraud the United States in the Watergate coverup. Both are cooperating with the prosecutors and sentence has been deferred.

7. Former campaign aide Herbert L. Porter has pleaded guilty to knowingly making a false statement to a federal agency (he lied to the FBI) and is awaiting sentence.

8. A former aide to President Johnson, Jake Jacobsen, has been indicted for perjury in connection with contributions made to the Nixon campaign by a dairy group.

That is where we have been. Now you can prepare yourself for the new indictments to be handed down, probably before you read this, by Special Prosecutor Jaworski and his grand juries.

New Majority Squandered

According to Kevin Phillips and other analysts, the long-range trends in American politics have been working to create a new nonliberal majority which will be the heir of the older New Deal coalition. In November 1972, the Phillips analysis seemed to be stunningly borne out. Though George Meany and the AFL-CIO Council remained neutral, the effect of this neutrality was to damage the liberal candidate. Local labor leaders came out for Richard Nixon in droves. For the first time in modern political history, a majority of the blue collar vote went to the Republican candidate, and large blocs of formerly Democratic ethnic voters shifted to the Republicans. In a climax to the long-range trend, the Republican candidate swept the South. The Republican Party, it now seemed, could become the vehicle of a new governing coalition.

South America, Take It Away

Miss Miranda, I adored;
  Also, Manolete's clout.
(When the bull received the sword,
  Usually, I passed out.)
Rumbas keep my pelvis loose;
  Tango music leaves me weak.
Congas threaten my caboose.
  Color me a coffee freak.
Rio by the sea-o, *hi*:
  I would love to make a date,
But the tickets, ay, ay, ay . . .
  We've got your inflation rate.

W. H. VON DREELE

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You Might Be Able to Survive the Coming Food Crisis By Eating Wild Plants and the Barks of Trees . . .

Don't laugh. You may have to eat like Ewell Gibbons if you have not prepared for the coming food crisis. Evidence is mounting that a severe food shortage could descend upon America at any time. Even Department of Agriculture officials who normally paint a rosey picture have begun to admit that the U.S. could be in "awful shape" for food. Supplies of important staples such as corn, potatoes, peas, and beans have already hit bottom. And more than 70% of America's basic grains such as wheat have been exported. With delicate food delivery systems upset by the energy crisis and further breakdowns threatening, you could find yourself without food unless you act now.

Nevada Coin Exchange is offering you an excellent means of protecting yourself and your family— a year's supply of food for only $528. This food purchased in bulk has many advantages over conventionally processed foods. Ours is prepared by a new scientific "low moisture" process which captures more of the vitamins and taste of the natural food. Dehydrated and nitrogen packed in special cans our food lasts longer—up to 15 years without refrigeration. And it is so lightweight and easily stored that a full year's supply of 20 cartons takes up only 2/3 of a cubic yard. If need be you can fit it into your car.

The expert design of our ready reserve food supply provides 2,450 calories per day of nutritionally balanced meals. We guarantee that you cannot buy a nutritionally balanced reserve food supply for less. You receive:

FRUITS: 521 three ounce servings of fruits including apples, peaches, grapes, apricots, and cherries.

VEGETABLES: a total of 500 four ounce servings of carrots, green beans, sweet corn, tomatoes, cabbage, potatoes, and peas.

GRAINS: Sufficient flour (or optional unground whole wheat) to make 250 lbs of rich, wholesome bread or cakes. You also receive 228 four ounce servings of pinto beans; 84 four ounce servings of quick cooking oats, 116 four ounce servings of elbow macaroni; 96 four ounce servings of yellow cornmeal; 279 four ounce servings of rice.

PROTEINS: Inexpensive and nutritious vegetable proteins to provide the equivalent of 100 lbs. of lean meat—plus 186 servings of bacon-flavored proteins.

DAIRY PRODUCTS: Powdered milk sufficient to yeild 230 quarts of non-fat milk—more than a year's supply at normal consumption. You also get 128 one ounce servings of cheese.

EGGS: 384 eggs in powdered form.

SUGAR: (optional) 36 lbs. especially packed in cans.

GELATIN DESSERT: 256 four ounce servings.

BREAKFAST DRINK: 320 four ounce servings.

SHORTENING: 39 lbs.

MARGARINE: 10 lbs.

AND MORE: Cornstarch to make 96 pounds of pies; minced onions to provide 384 one ounce servings; chicken and beef flavored gravy for 384 one ounce servings; iodized salt sufficient for more than a year; adequate baking powder and yeast.

WATER PURIFIER: is included at no extra cost. It will remove contaminants down to one micron in size (that's 40 millionths of an inch) thus rendering even radioactive water pure and usable. This highly effective water purifier will cleanse 100 gallons of drinking water, even from highly polluted sources.

It is advisable to order immediately before wholesale price increases and soaring demand force an additional price rise. If you act now, and your order is received within two weeks of publication of this notice, you will also receive three free bonus books: CULINARY CAPERS, PASSPORT OF SURVIVAL and FAMOUS MORMON RECIPES. You may use your Master Charge or Bank-Americard to purchase your reserve food supply now.

IMPORTANT NOTICE: If you are not completely convinced of the urgency of purchasing longterm food supplies immediately, consider the frightening projections of scientists as reported in the February issue of FORTUNE: "Ominous Changes in the World's Weather." This article holds that weather patterns have gone through a basic shift which will drastically cut food supplies everywhere. With longterm famine facing the earth, you may never be able to make a more prudent investment than buying food now. You may even wish to purchase more than one order.

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NR

Prices subject to change without notice. Food orders shipped from Utah. Shipping charges varying between $20 and $80, depending upon location are payable by customer upon receipt. We guarantee to pay the difference if shipping charges exceed $80. The full order is unconditionally guaranteed. If you are unsatisfied return your order within 10 days for a full refund (including shipping charges).

FOR BEST PRICES ON GOLD AND SILVER CALL NEVADA COIN EXCHANGE COLLECT.

☐ Please Send: A_____year(s) supply of reserve food, at $528 each.

☐ I wish to substitute unground whole wheat for flour in my order.

☐ Exclude sugar from my order, send a _____year(s) supply of reserve food at $513 each.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

(If you wish to charge your order fill in your account number)

☐ My Bank Americard Number is _____

☐ My Master Charge Number is _____

Check, money order, or other convenient form of payment enclosed payable to:

SURVIVAL FOODS DIVISION
NEVADA COIN EXCHANGE

1104 West Sunset, P.O. Box 485, Carson City, Nevada 89701 (702) 882-2483

Bank Reference on Request

699

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

The most unfinished of the many unfinished scandals is the one involving the military spying on the White House. Thus far the defense offered by the Pentagon high command—especially by Admiral Thomas Moorer, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff—is a familiar one: John Dean did it. Well, not the real John Dean. A surrogate. A "John Dean figure." The busy and important men who received the documents stolen from the White House were too busy with important matters (winning the peace, etc.) to pay much attention to where they came from. And Henry Kissinger, from whom the documents were stolen, is siding with the Pentagon brass. He says that the young Navy yeoman who did the stealing (he was assigned as a military liaison to Kissinger's National Security Council) was just "an eager beaver" trying to please his military superiors. The yeoman agrees, sort of: he says he was trying to please the admirals who, he says, trained him in spying and asked him to spy on Kissinger. At this point, two things are clear. Either the yeoman or an admiral has committed perjury in giving sworn testimony about all this to the Senate Armed Services Committee.

■ The appointment of Dean Burch—longtime friend of Barry Goldwater, former Goldwater aide, GOP National Chairman during the 1964 campaign—is another White House attempt to keep conservatives (as they say in White House lingo) "on the reservation." Burch, stepping down as chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, will become a counselor to the President, with Cabinet rank. It is not clear exactly what he will have to do.

■ Was there ever—could there ever be—a more perfect symbol? The giant, modern, forward-looking, confidence-inspiring building that houses the Department of Housing and Urban Development—the ten-story, X-shaped, $23 million gem—is falling down, My Fair Lady! A crack has worked its way from the basement, up one wall all the way to the top—and down the other side. And the building is slowing sinking into the 80-foot-deep hole dug for the station for Washington's new subway. The official HUD response: "The building is in great condition." Right, men, now back to planning housing for the nation.

■ It's an outrage! A federal judge (get his name!) has dismissed a suit brought by Senator Vance Hartke (D., Ind.). Hartke had argued that Members of Congress do not have to submit to airport security checks. He said the security checks are "tantamount to temporary arrest and in violation of the privileges and immunities provided for members of Congress by the Constitution."

■ We have just endured the first of a spate of definitive stories revealing that Ted Kennedy will/will not run for President in 1976. First the *New York Times* carried a story headlining the fact that Kennedy would run. Actually, the story only reported that a California fat cat, a Mr. Harold Willens, had lunched with Kennedy in Washington and was back on the Coast assuring one and all that Kennedy was in the race. But, oddly, the *Times* did not seem to have much confidence in its own story. It ran it deep inside the paper. One would have thought that a story like that should be page one, or nothing. A few days later the *Times* ran another story (page 19) headlined "Kennedy Is Saying Privately He Won't Run." Needless to say, this story itself was not entirely as headlined. The story did knock down the story that Kennedy had told Willens that he was going to run. But that's all it did.

■ Exciting, isn't it? Passing the "emergency energy bill," that is. Congress has been passing the "emergency" bill for months, and still hasn't got the knack. The main hangup today is the rollback on oil prices. This provision was put in to replace the old hangup—the tax on "excess" (read: "windfall") profits. When the senators pushing the "emergency" legislation (principally Henry Jackson) saw they could not define, let alone pass, a limit on "excess profits," they decided that the next most demagogic thing they could do was decree lower prices. The House of Representatives accordingly passed the bill with that provision. Mr. Nixon is expected to veto it. The score so far: five months of talk, no law yet.

■ One hundred thousand dollars late, the secret service guard has been withdrawn from Spiro Agnew. The General Accounting Office declared the guard illegal. Now the GAO is focusing on the posh government town house in which Agnew is working. At first the rationale for this free government office was that Agnew had to sort through *his* vice presidential papers. (What, by the way, *are* "vice presidential papers"?) But recently there has been a spate of news stories about the high price Agnew is going to get for the novel he is dictating to government secretaries in his government town house.

—CATO

A year later, Richard Nixon and the circle of political geniuses with whom he has surrounded himself have managed to devastate that possibility. The Gallup Poll shows the Republican Party—the Republican Party!—at an all-time low in popular support. Much of organized labor is solidly back in the Democratic camp, and the ethnic groups too are returning to the Democrats. Disaster looms for the Republicans in 1974, if the recent congressional election in Michigan is any portent.

The wreckage of the Nixon regime presents an unedifying spectacle. It is possible that the guilty plea of Herbert Kalmbach will mark the beginning of the final slide. Until now we have had a hurricane of accusations, but Kalmbach's guilty plea and his revelations confirm the extent of the corruption. A $6-million secret and illegal (and altogether unnecessary) campaign fund; extortion of campaign contributions; diplomatic posts virtually bought and sold. Within a few days, further indictments are expected. A large number of Nixon's closest associates could go to the penitentiary.

In historical perspective, what Nixon and his people have accomplished is to stand athwart history and sidetrack the formation of a new, dynamic nonliberal majority. It has been an astonishing accomplishment, achieved against all the odds. What Watergate and the rest of the can of worms will have done is ensure that the 1974-1976 political establishment is substantially to the left of the nation at large.

It is not facetious to compare Nixon's achievement here with the upset victory scored by Harry Truman over Thomas Dewey in 1948. Historically considered, 1948 was a natural Republican year. The Democratic

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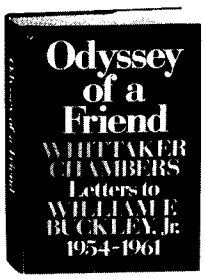
LAST CHANCE!



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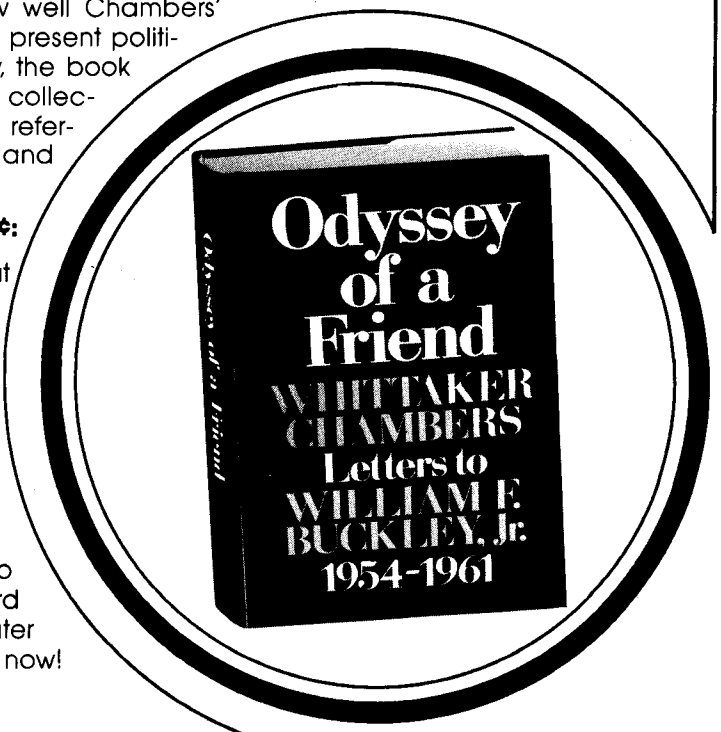
To anyone 30 or over, "Odyssey of a Friend" is an absorbing commentary on the life and times you yourself have experienced: **living** history that brings it all back to you in vivid detail—the whole and even to this day, unbelievable, story of the famous Hiss-Chambers case. Moreover, if you are under 30, this may well be one of the most informative (and **formative**) books you will ever read. Not only will "Odyssey of a Friend" acquaint you with an important part of American history and experience; you will also profit from and be continually amazed by the depths of Chambers' insight and his great sensitivity and poetic vision. One cannot classify Whittaker Chambers neatly. He is historian, philosopher, poet, raconteur; he knew so much about so many different subjects, you will wonder how one man could absorb so much and still find the time to commit his ideas to paper. This Herculean task **was** accomplished as you'll discover when you read this book.

Chambers writes about Bill Buckley and how their friendship developed, Richard Nixon, **National Review**—its history, personalities, early trials and successes.

In addition, there is an excellent "forward" to the book which recounts the whole Hiss-Chambers controversy. Possibly the greatest value of the book lies in its uncanny relevance to today's troubled political situation in Washington. There are so many parallels between the Hiss case and our own convoluted Watergate affair, one of the more fascinating aspects of "Odyssey of a Friend" surfaces when you realize how well Chambers' remembrances of the past put our whole present political situation into clear focus. Incidentally, the book is completely indexed (very unusual for a collection of letters) to document for your easy reference the complete range of subjects and people mentioned in the book.



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direction had been steadily down, and politically the country was entering its post-New Deal phase. Truman's squeaky upset produced a serious dislocation of American politics, reflected in the bitter controversy of the McCarthy years and the nomination in 1952 of the anomalous Eisenhower. In 1974, Nixon is achieving a comparable dislocation.

High Crime or Low Crime?

Every time the impeachment process is initiated in this country there is a fierce debate about what acts are "impeachable," and this time is no exception. The Constitution tells us, "treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors." Treason and bribery are definite enough, but what in the world is a high crime and misdemeanor? Invariably, the impeachee and his allies insist, as Richard Nixon and his aides and lawyers have done, that only "indictable" acts can be subject to impeachment—only acts that are specifically covered by existing law or statute. Invariably, the impeachers counter that many categories of act not specified by the criminal law are to be included. This latter opinion was put in its ultimate form by Gerald Ford when he remarked, in his pre-Vice Presidential days, that anything is impeachable that Congress says is impeachable.

The framers of our Constitution adapted the impeachment provision from the British tradition of impeachment that dated back to the fourteenth century. The preponderant opinion of historians and legal scholars familiar with the British precedents, the intentions, proceedings, and commentary of the framers, and the impeachment actions brought or proposed in the course of our history, is against the narrow interpretation favored by President Nixon. Indeed, common sense suggests that there would have been no reason for the framers to insert in the Constitution a provision for a special impeachment process if all they had had in mind were ordinary indictable crimes subject to the ordinary judicial system. The phrase "high crimes and misdemeanors" was first used in 1386, not in an ordinary criminal proceeding but, precisely, in the impeachment of the Earl of Suffolk. As the report of the bipartisan impeachment inquiry staff of the Senate Judiciary Committee points out, the phrase, though never pinned down to detailed specific terms, has traditionally been understood to refer in a peculiar sense to major "political offenses": to (in the staff's words) "serious offenses against the system of government . . . [to] constitutional wrongs that subvert the structure of government, or undermine the integrity of office and even the Constitution itself . . . [violations of the constitutionally imposed duty] 'to take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed' . . . undermining the integrity of office, disregard of constitutional duties and oath of office, arrogation of power, abuse of the governmental process . . ." And the staff appropriately adds: "Not all presidential misconduct is sufficient to constitute grounds for impeachment. There is a further requirement—substantiality."

Unquestionably the various attempted definitions, like those of the staff in this instance, seldom have the precision and specificity that is necessary to the proper statutory definition of "indictable" crimes. Impeachment is an extraordinary action, an ongoing and creative political process in which the responsible body—in our case, a combination of the two Houses of the Congress—defines the scope and nature of what they are doing by actually doing it, and, finally, by their decision, which is by the nature of the situation final. The citizens may hope and even presume that, faced with so solemn and critical a challenge as impeachment, the responsible body will do its duty responsibly and soberly. But then-Representative Ford was right in his contention that in the last analysis an impeachable act is what Congress says it is, just as, in the last analysis, the law is what the Supreme Court says it is.

Nevertheless, the theoretical distinctions here discussed are not likely to affect the result. Granted the American attitude toward the law and morality, it is not likely that the House of Representatives will impeach and the Senate convict a President unless they are convinced that, along with whatever High Crimes he may have committed, he is guilty also of one or more indictable low crimes. And even those might not seal the impeachment unless, when the time comes, the members of Congress are further convinced that the citizen-voters are ready to accept the verdict.

The Line for Rationing Coupons

There are essentially four forms of rationing that are being used to allocate petroleum products. The system used in the past was price rationing—giving proportionately more to those willing and able to pay the price. After a couple of weeks of no Sunday driving, West Germany has relied entirely on price rationing, and thus attracted a sizable share of the available imports while completely avoiding the sort of troubles we have experienced. In the

The French

Vercingétorix vexed the Romans;
Charlemagne annoyed the Pope.
Joan of Arc drove England crazy;
Richelieu was slick as soap.
Napoleon (both Big and Little)
Left the continent a wreck.
Pompidou continues dealing
From the bottom of the deck.

W. H. von Dreele

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United States, the price rationing system operates only through bribery, black markets, and imported petroleum products (which are exempt from price controls).

The dominant system in many urban areas, however, is queue rationing, the normal method in the Soviet Union—giving more to those willing and able to wait in line, or to pay someone else to do so. Even for those who value their time at only $3 an hour, an hour wait doubles the real cost of a $3 fill-up. A third, auxiliary rationing system now being used in this country is private favoritism, where more supplies go to pretty girls, relatives, or regular customers.

And fourth, petroleum products can be allocated according to political favoritism, where more supplies go to those given priority standing by the authorities. This is already an important rationing device in the U.S., through the decisions of the Federal Energy Office. The political futures of many mayors and governors may well depend on how successful they are in getting Mr. Simon to increase their region's "fair share." Under coupon rationing, political criteria become all-important. A third of the Dutch sought exemption, as "hardship cases," from Holland's brief and unsuccessful experiment with coupon rationing. Even exemptions which seem obviously fair are invitations to abuse: some physicians make house calls and travel long distances to several hospitals, but many others, as their patients know, couldn't be dragged to a house call by a bulldozer.

Though everyone seems to assume that coupon rationing would end the waiting lines, there is no obvious reason why this should be so. Coupon rationing would not increase the supply of gas or the number of service stations (about 9 per cent of the brand name stations and 12 per cent of the independents have closed since the crisis) or the hours during which they choose to pump gas. By keeping the price down, coupon rationing would delay the switch to smaller cars and efforts to minimize driving. Enough coupons would presumably be issued to match available supplies, so there would be no reduction of total consumption. Each sale would take longer, because of the red tape, and this would tend to lengthen lines. And there would be a new set of lines for the coupons themselves, and a new set of crooks to sell counterfeit coupons.

New Hampshire Copout?

A new voucher experiment was scheduled (remember?) to take place in a few carefully selected New Hampshire school districts last September. *This* voucher plan differed from the Alum Rock (California) plan in that it was designed by Milton Friedman to permit the greatest possible freedom of choice by parents, while Alum Rock's was designed by Christopher Jencks, the socialist, with so many qualifications (racial quotas, public schools only, no discrimination according to income or merit, etc.) as to render the whole thing nugatory.

Well, September is long gone, and the school districts haven't been selected yet. Why not? Two possible explanations come to mind: 1) bureaucratic opposition, of which there has been plenty; and 2) bureaucratic inertia, which is almost a metaphysical necessity, especially when there is the prior existence of 1). A correspondent of ours who has some knowledge of these matters writes: "With a controversial project like the vouchers, delay can be as fatal as outright opposition. It would be painfully ironic if [certain federal officials] who so bitterly resisted the voucher idea and who now profess such enthusiasm for it, so that it may be shifted to their supervision, were to accomplish by innocent delay what they could not win by frontal assault."

Terrorism: What Can Be Done?

James Burnham, an *NR* senior editor, has now devoted two of his regular columns to the subject of terrorism and will conclude, for the time being, with a third in the next issue. For the time being, since the subject unfortunately is likely to be with us for some while to come. The kidnapping of Patricia Hearst by the Symbionese Liberation Army renders it especially timely, but Mr. Burnham places terrorism in its historical and global context, and he explains why worse is likely to come. The United States will not escape a spreading wave of terrorist acts and terrorist organizations, a prominent feature of which is their ability to leap over national boundaries throughout the non-Communist world.

Many informed people in the Western intelligence community regard the spread of terrorism as a threat to Western society comparable to that posed by the Soviet acquisition of nuclear weapons a generation ago. Modern mobility and the anonymity of modern urban life facilitate the terrorist operation. Modern communications give the terrorist group a national and even international sounding board. The interlocking nature of modern institutions makes them peculiarly vulnerable to terrorist attack. Modern democratic and humanitarian norms inhibit both the understanding of terrorism and the effort to combat it.

Up to a certain level, terrorism can probably be endured, the effort to suppress it damaging the state more than the terrorism itself. But a point exists at which the state will have to undertake the suppression of the terrorists. This would involve extensive infiltration, electronic surveillance, and similar measures unattractive to those who cherish civil liberties. The Israelis have succeeded in keeping terrorism at a low level with relatively little damage to the fabric of their society, although terrorism is included in their own arsenal. South Africa and Brazil have resorted to still harsher measures. In Spain, where, after all, security forces are hardly inconspicuous, spectacular terrorist acts have been brought off.

So far the Western nations, and notably the United States, have been improvising measures to deal with each

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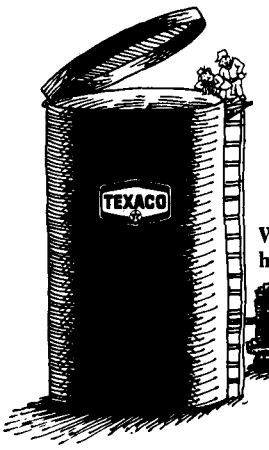

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More energy for America ...a capital idea.

About Texaco's "Excess" Profits— Excessive for What?

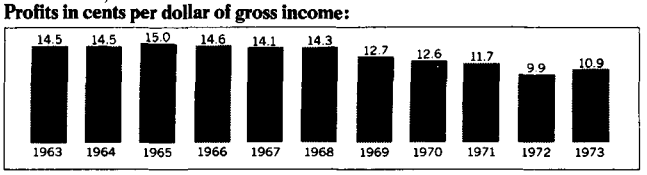
Texaco earned $1.3 billion in 1973. We invested $1.6 billion in 1973 in exploration and facilities to help provide you with crude oil and petroleum products. Our investments could be close to $2 billion in 1974.

Profits are essential to the investments we need—and this nation needs—to find and develop new sources of petroleum and to build transportation and refinery capacity to produce more gasoline, heating oil, and other petroleum products.

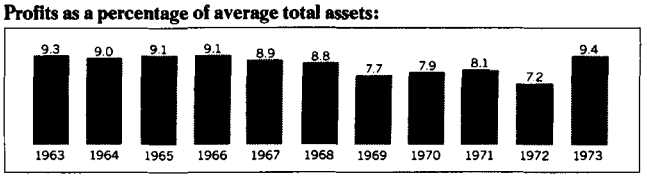
- Profits must provide much of the capital that goes right back into the business to assure growth—growth for an industry which is this nation's principal hope for overcoming the energy crisis.
- Profits must also be adequate to pay a fair return to investors on the capital they entrust to us.
- Profits must grow to encourage more individuals and lending institutions to advance additional funds for investment.

Texaco's profits last year were not excessive. Texaco's results for 1973 showed an improvement both in profits on gross income and as a percentage of average total assets—but this was only an improvement in a trend that had been declining for an entire decade. Texaco's earnings attributable to United States operations in 1973 increased only 3.6% over 1972.

Profits in cents per dollar of gross income:



Profits as a percentage of average total assets:



The Energy Shortage Can Be Overcome Only by Multibillion Dollar Investments.

Today and in the future, Texaco and the industry must invest more billions by far than ever in the past to discover and process new sources of petroleum and alternate energy supplies.

New sources of petroleum are more difficult to find than old ones. They are scarcer; they are often offshore; they are almost always deeper in the earth. All this means much higher costs for exploration and production.

NOTE: Data on investments, capital and exploratory expenditures, taxes, and total assets in this advertisement include Texaco and its share in affiliated companies.

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Enormous outlays must be made to increase the capacity of existing refineries and to build new ones. Pipe lines, supertankers, and superports will be necessary to handle more supplies of petroleum. Of our anticipated capital investments of close to $2 billion in 1974, more than one-half are allocated to the United States.

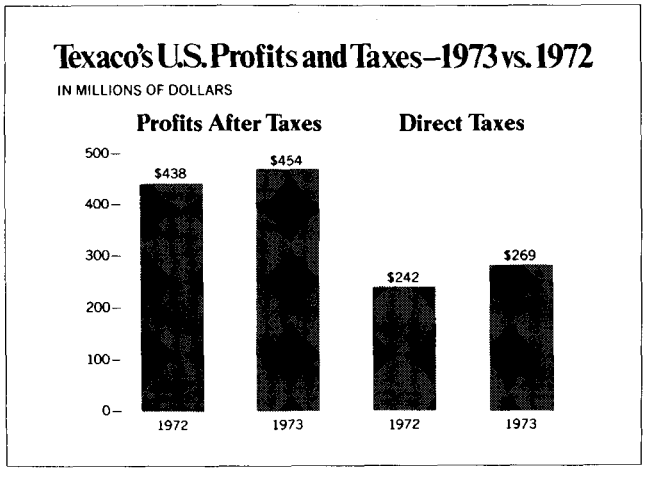
During the past five years alone, the cost of building a 250,000-ton tanker has risen from $30 million to $60 million; the cost of building a new 100,000-barrel-per-day refinery has risen from less than $200 million to more than $400 million; and the cost of a typical offshore producing platform has risen from $3 million to more than $5.5 million. Many such facilities must be built by the petroleum industry.

One source outside the industry has estimated that, in the 15-year period 1970-1985, the industry's financial needs—allowing for capital and exploratory expenditures, dividend payments, debt service, and other requirements—will be more than *quadruple* its needs in the previous 15-year period. Altogether, the industry's financial needs will be in excess of one *trillion* dollars.

Should the Oil Industry Be Penalized With Heavier Taxes?

There is much talk in Washington today about levying punitive taxes on oil industry profits. Let's look at the facts about the taxes Texaco pays in the United States.

In 1973, Texaco's after-tax earnings attributable to its operations in the United States were $454 million, and the estimated total of direct taxes paid by Texaco in the United States amounted to $269 million—an effective domestic tax rate of about 37%. This figure includes $38 million in Federal income taxes, which constitute just one part of the company's total U.S. tax burden. Direct taxes paid by Texaco in the U.S. also include $231 million for such other items as oil and gas production taxes, property taxes, state income and franchise taxes, import duties, and other government levies. These figures compare with U.S. earnings of about $438 million and direct U.S. taxes of $242 million in 1972 (see chart below).



These taxes do not, of course, include state and Federal taxes, totaling from 9 to 14 cents a gallon in the case of gasoline, that are collected and remitted to government agencies as our products are sold to consumers.

On a worldwide basis, Texaco earned $1.3 billion in 1973 and paid total direct taxes of about $3.7 billion. These figures compare with worldwide earnings of $889 million and worldwide direct taxes of $2.7 billion in 1972. These taxes exclude those collected and remitted to governments as our products are sold to consumers.

What Would Added Oil Taxes Mean to the Effort to Overcome Shortages?

To provide necessary energy supplies for the United States, Texaco must strive—within its financial ability—to unearth new sources of petroleum and alternate fuels.

- An increase in taxes would take away from funds needed to find and develop new energy sources. This, at the very least, could force a stretchout in the number of years required to make our nation more self-sufficient in energy resources.
- Alternatively, if the scale of effort to find new energy were to continue in spite of the added tax burden, the additional cost would have to be passed on to the consumer in the form of higher product prices.

We believe that neither of these alternatives is in the best interest of the consumer or of the nation.

What It Boils Down to Is This: The Search for New Energy Should Be Encouraged, Not Discouraged.

In this period of shortage, hasty and punitive legislation will more likely harm the national drive for self-sufficiency than help it. When it comes to Texaco's profits, you might like to keep these simple facts in mind:

- Last year approximately 35% of Texaco's worldwide earnings were attributable to operations in the United States.
- These earnings from domestic operations were $454 million, an increase of only 3.6% over U.S. earnings in 1972.
- Direct taxes, including income taxes, in the United States amounted to $269 million, an effective tax rate of about 37%.
- In 1974, Texaco plans to spend in the United States more than one-half of its worldwide capital investment program of close to $2 billion.

The most important source of the funds that Texaco needs to provide you with increased supplies of energy must be the company's earnings. Any increased taxes will decrease our ability to achieve this objective.

At Texaco, we've been working to keep your trust for over 70 years. We don't intend to lose it now.

TEXACO

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separate terrorist act as it has come along. The grotesque shambles into which the Hearst kidnapping episode degenerated is a demonstration of how inadequate such improvisation is in countering an assault that will continue to grow in size and intensity. What is now required, as an essential preliminary to effective action over the longer run, is a serious doctrine of counterterrorism, based on a thorough historical, technical, strategic, and philosophic study of terrorism and the methods used to combat it.

Muddling Out

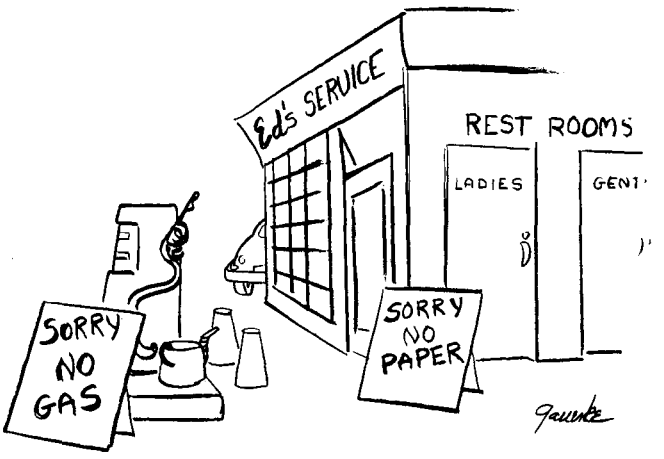
The House of Representatives, in a surprise vote a few weeks ago, rejected an Administration foreign aid bill, 248 to 155, which is a significant surprise if, like Secretary of the Treasury George P. Shultz, you didn't doubt the bill would pass. Only 47 out of 177 Republicans supported the measure—a contribution of $1.5 billion to the World Bank's funds for "soft" (i.e., fiscally low grade) loans. The Democrats opposed it, 118 to 108. World Bank President Robert S. McNamara, whose credibility after eight years as Secretary of Defense is nearly 1,000 per cent, called the vote "an unmitigated disaster." The House may get a second chance at the bill if the Senate proceeds to pass it in spite of the House's action, but a 47-vote spread is not inconsiderable.

At least one reason for the vote had to do with the price of oil. For a number of countries the recent increase in the cost of their oil will be greater than the foreign aid they would have received. The bill would have channeled funds from the United States, through the World Bank, to the aided countries, and on to the Arab oil states, a result that a majority of the House was understandably reluctant to approve.

But uncertainty about the role of the U.S. in the world was also involved. Doubt, anger, guilt, raised in the minds of many by the experience in Vietnam, remain. The function of the U.S. as a world power, with responsibilities to itself and others, is unclear—if the concept is still accepted at all. The nation, cuddling up to one principal enemy (China), trading with another (Soviet Union), banning trade with a friendly country (Rhodesia), and unable to bring itself to support another friend (Cambodia) sufficiently to ensure its survival, has an acute identity problem, one manifestation of which is the powerful impulse to opt out of foreign aid.

Islamic Summit

The recent 38-nation Islamic summit conference in Lahore (former summer capital of the British Raj) demonstrated a sense of Moslem unity transcending the Arab portion of Islam. The momentum generated a number of sudden policy shifts, among them the recognition by Pakistan of the sovereignty of breakaway Bangladesh, and the agreement, not opposed by Jordan, that the Palestinian Liberation Organization is "the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian nation." This shift by



King Hussein, it is speculated, might pave the way for reconciliation between his government and the PLO.

It is becoming clear that, whatever else they accomplished, the Yom Kippur War and the Arab oil embargo have projected the Arabs, and with them the entire Moslem world, onto the world stage. Before the war and the embargo, the Arabs were not really a presence in the Western consciousness. They were, for practical purposes, nonpeople, and their arguments nonarguments. The growing lines at the gasoline pumps, and the growing treasuries of the oil producers, make the Arabs for the first time a force in the domestic politics of the West.

The Lahore summit, perhaps predictably, also called for the return of all territories occupied by Israel in the Six Day War, and for the return to Moslems of the Old City of Jerusalem, also seized in that war. Given the growing self-consciousness of the Moslem world, that last demand may slide into the nonnegotiable category.

Unhealthy Insurance

The Nixon Administration's latest health proposal, like several of the rival plans, leaps into solutions without adequate consideration of the problems to be solved. Among those who have seriously studied our health care system, there is remarkably broad agreement about the nature of the main problems and their causes.

First, the cost of hospitalization rose 186 per cent between 1960 and 1971, while other consumer prices rose 37 per cent. This differential is generally explained by the flood of cost-plus money from Medicare and Medicaid, which eliminated any incentive for physicians, patients, or hospital administrators to control costs. The rise in costs wiped out much of the intended benefit, with almost half of the money going to suppliers of health care services and equipment. Another factor in the escalation of costs was a surplus of hospital beds due to federal construction subsidies, which encouraged the medically unnecessary use of hospital in-patient services.

Second, existing medical insurance generally covers routine expenditures (especially when provided in the most costly facilities) and does not cover catastrophic expenses. This is partly because tax deduction for above-

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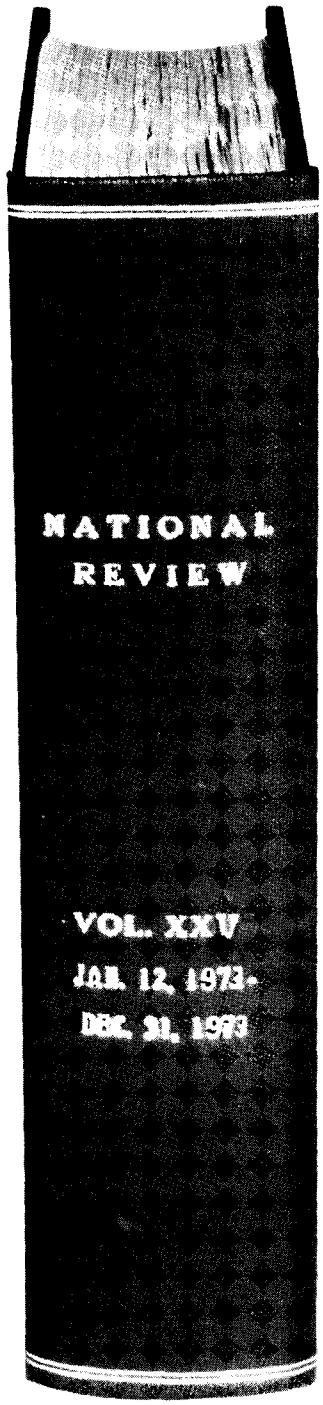

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Abu, *Indian Express*, New Delhi Rothco

"What a responsibility, having to develop the developing nations, and underdevelop the developed ones!"

average medical expenses discourages insuring against those expenses. Tax deduction for health insurance premiums provides little incentive for the poor to buy such insurance, since they pay little or no federal income tax and rarely itemize deductions. But most people are induced by the structure of tax incentives to insure against relatively bearable, predictable medical expenditures. Most existing policies have neither a substantial "deductible" amount (paid by the patient before benefits begin) nor "coinsurance" (a percentage of the bill paid by the patient). The result is a tendency to make excessive use of the most elaborate facilities, and to promote a general lack of concern about exorbitant fees.

Third, medical personnel is in short supply, at least in rural areas and urban centers. Demand has been stimulated by government programs to shift the cost from users to taxpayers. Supply has been unable to keep up, partly because of government control over training and student loans. One problem has been the increasing proportion of doctors engaging in research or specialized practice—a trend fostered by federal subsidies to research and postgraduate education.

In short, many problems in health care and insurance can be largely attributed to existing government programs. As usual, this creates a demand for more of the same. Everyone is particularly anxious to shift the costs to someone else, or at least to hide them. Yet any politically viable program is not apt to aid very much the small minority who are poor at the expense of the vast majority who are sufficiently numerous to bear the expense.

The relatively affluent will continue to make the most use of medical care, under any scheme, because they have better access to facilities, better knowledge of dangerous symptoms, more freedom to take time off the job, and less fear of doctors. Since the wealthy are most vulnerable to overcharging, they are especially likely to benefit from any device to shift costs to those mainly dependent on payrolls.

Both the Nixon and Kennedy-Griffiths bills rely heavily on the illusion of having the employer bear a sizable share of the cost. Economists who don't agree on anything else do agree that such taxes on payrolls, whether nominally placed on the employer or employee, eventually come out of wages or go into prices. Such taxes (or premiums, in the case of the Nixon plan) are regressive: i.e., they take a larger share of the income of the working poor, they exempt nonlabor income, and they discourage the unskilled from seeking work or employers from offering it.

The Administration bill differs from the Kennedy-Griffiths bill in that the latter has no deductibles or coinsurance. Since demand would approach infinity with no cost-sharing whatsoever, the Kennedy bill would bring rationing by waiting lines and bureaucratic caprice. The Kennedy bill also gives the government tremendous power as the sole purchaser of medical services. "I have a philosophical belief," says Kennedy, "that you have to use the lever of financing to do something about quality and something about control." If consumers didn't happen to like what the government did to medical care, under the Kennedy bill there would be no real alternative. The Nixon bill at least leaves *some* room for diversity among states and private insurers.

The two leading health bills do not remedy, and probably would aggravate, cost and supply problems caused by earlier legislation. Both take care of catastrophic expenses, but do so in a way that is like eliminating hornets with a shotgun. The distributional impact of either bill may well be to aid the wealthy and soak the poor. "What is at stake," wrote Robert Finch when he was Secretary of HEW, "is the pluralistic, independent, voluntary nature of our health care system. We will lose it to pressures for monolithic government-dominated medical care unless we can make this system work for everyone."

More Sins

The Vatican has introduced a new communal rite of penance which could have political implications, and it has also altered in some respects the wording of the absolution given in the individual confession. (The latter, however, contrary to the impression given by some of the news stories, has not been replaced by the communal rite.) Introducing the new communal rite at a Vatican press conference, Monsignor Gilberto Augustoni also provided suggested questions to be used in the preparation of conscience: "Do I pay my employees a just wage and honor my contracts and promises? Do I care for the good and prosperity of the community in which I live? Do I pay my taxes?" This last will run into some difficulties in France, think we.

No philosophical objection can be made to the new communal emphasis, and it may indeed be overdue. However, given the current temper of some segments of

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the Catholic clergy, we foresee some spots of awkwardness. If your local padre asks you whether you eat lettuce or supported the bombing, you might try asking him whether he is working hard for the principle of subsidiarity, and what he has had to say lately about the practice of Christianity in North Vietnam.

Notes & Asides

■ MEMO TO: My colleagues
FROM: WFB

As I hope most of you know, I surrendered a dozen years ago to the iron requirements of flackery. My mentor Burnham has said of promotional copy that it is to be judged good or bad by wholly instrumental standards. Accordingly though I continue to wince at seeing in NATIONAL REVIEW books I wrote when barely out of adolescence referred to as masterpieces of literature, I have learned to turn quickly past the offending page, which has the virtue of being framed on both sides by contemporary masterpieces of opinion journalism. But now (*NR*, March 1) I see myself referred to as "America's most literate spokesman for the conservative point of view." To my great relief, this presumption is committed not by National Review Inc., over which I possess a technical authority, but by my publishers, G. P. Putnam's Sons, over whom God knows I exercise no authority at all. I am reminded of one of WAR's stories concerning the governor of New Hampshire who boasted about his state that it generated more kilowatts of power per resident senior citizen than any state in the Union: and, having said it, cautioned the press to get it exactly right, otherwise it would be wholly wrong. Alas, there are not enough qualifiers in G. P. Putnam's description of me to plead the immunity of the governor of New Hampshire. Accordingly, I disavow the title, in deference to a score of truly literate Americans. This is not to be taken as an excuse for failing to buy and read *Four Reforms*.

■ Dear Bill:

I have, over the past 18 months, been accused of everything from the Watergate to rapes on 14th Street. The calluses have gotten so thick that nothing really has bothered me lately. That is until last night. Each evening I go home anxious to read your column in the *Washington Star*. I have long been an admirer of yours, even on those occasions when I have not agreed with your politics or your views. No matter what, your candor and honesty are refreshing.

You can imagine how startled I was to read last night that John Dean's "screwing your enemies" memo was addressed to me. That is, according to your column. The memo that John introduced during his spectacular last summer was one I had never seen before. It had no addressee, although in Dean's testimony he said that it was prepared for and sent to Bob Haldeman and John Ehrlichman (TR 2597).

This will surely seem a small point to you. When Joe Kraft or Tom Braden do it to me, I take it in stride, but when it comes from Bill Buckley, horrors!

Sincerely,
Chuck Colson
Washington, D.C.

Dear Chuck: I regret the error, and permit myself to wonder what would have been your response if in fact the memorandum had been addressed to you? Yours cordially,
Bill

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Is my impression mistaken that your family's wealth comes from oil—even from oil companies it owns? And if my impression is correct, is this not something the readers of your column on Feb. 2, entitled "Senator Jackson," ought to know? Certainly if family funds come from oil this fact would incline you to criticize Senator Jackson, as you did, so that your views do not in fact represent the disinterested judgment people expect from a columnist of your status in a paper which enjoys the high repute of the *N.Y. Post*. I hope you will tell me what the facts are.

Sincerely,
Catherine J. Tilson
Hamden, Conn.

See "On the Right," p. 338. —WFB

■ TU QUOQUE, ELEPHANTINE DEPT. OR LIFTING A VENDETTA OUT OF PARENTHESES OR THE LONG AND SMOKY MEMORY OF JIMMY BRESLIN

WFB (in *Esquire*, October 1969, "On Understanding the Difficulties of Joe Namath"): ". . . (I sound like Jimmy Breslin, God save me) . . . (alas, even Breslin writes like Breslin)."

Penthouse (Interview with Jimmy Breslin, February 1974): What about William Buckley, do you think he could have been a good writer if he weren't such a dilettante?

BRESLIN: Well, Buckley don't write that good. He can't ever get serious about writing because he really can't do it. Nobody can follow his sentences.

NATIONAL REVIEW (Interview with WFB, March 1974): What about Jimmy Breslin, do you think he could have been a good writer if he pulled his sentences out of all that beer?

WFB: I don't know. I don't think it ever occurred to him to try.

NATIONAL REVIEW: Is that the *only* thing you don't know?

WFB: The only thing I can think of offhand.—**WFB**

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Going to the Senate

GRAND RAPIDS is a pleasant, solid, unpretentious community —rather like the furniture made there. It also is the cause of a "new morality." No, not the "post-Watergate political morality," to which novelist Spiro Agnew once referred. The new morality now in vogue is the "post-Grand Rapids political morality." Because the good burghers of Grand Rapids and environs did what they did, a lot of Republican congressmen from around the Republic are finding that the unthinkable is suddenly thinkable. Republicans who hitherto had not given serious consideration to sending Mr. Nixon to an impeachment trial in the Senate are now seriously considering it.

Obviously honorable men and women of good will can and do honestly disagree about what constitutes an impeachable offense. Obviously no one—not even a congressman—can believe that a President should be impeached because his continued presence in office threatens to bring disaster upon his party in the next election. But Mr. Nixon's continued presence in office promises to do just that, and that may get him impeached.

If the House does vote to send Mr. Nixon to a trial in the Senate, the recent unpleasantness in Grand Rapids will deserve more than a minor footnote in American history books. To understand why the Democratic victory in that special election was so shattering to Republicans, you must understand the state of mind of many incumbent Republican congressmen. After a year of buffeting by Watergate, a substantial number of Republican congressmen have thrown realism to the winds, preferring to wrap themselves in a comforting delusion: Mr. Nixon will not be a salient issue in congressional elections this November. Perhaps not even the news from Grand Rapids will dispel their delusion. But it should.

The congressional seat in Michigan's Fifth District had been held by Gerald Ford for a quarter of a century. It had not been held by a Democrat since before Gerald Ford was born. Not since before World War I. Not for 64 years. Not since the Administration of William Howard Taft. Not since 1910. Republicans have approximately a 2 to 1 edge in registrations. The Republicans had the more formidable candidate in Robert VanderLaan, who never lost an election, and who was leader of the State Senate in Lansing. His opponent, Richard VanderVeen, had run for public office several times before, but had never won anything. In mid-January a poll showed Democrat VanderVeen being routed. It also showed Mr. Nixon with a negative rating on just about every conceivable issue. So Mr.—now Congressman—VanderVeen turned the election into a referendum on Mr. Nixon's fitness to continue in office.

Mr. VanderVeen got approximately the same number of votes that the Democratic candidate in that district got in the last nonpresidential election year, 1970, when Gerald Ford won in a cakewalk. But in 1974 that vote total was enough to win because Republicans stayed home in droves. This is also what happened in the special election in Pennyslvania, in January, when Republican stay-at-homes helped turn another traditionally Republican seat Democratic. Congressional Democrats have been studying the Michigan and Pennsylvania elections and have come to a conclusion. The difference, as they see it, is that in the Pennsylvania district, which was less strongly Republican, the Democrat flinched from bearing down on Mr. Nixon—and won by a hair. But in Michigan the Democrat's candidacy took off like a rocket when he finally made Mr. Nixon *the* issue.

The effect of this was not so much to energize Democratic voters as it was to paralyze Republican voters. In both the Pennsylvania and Michigan elections the turnout of Democratic voters, as might be expected in any special election, was slightly below the average of the last two regular elections (7 per cent and 1 per cent below, respectively). But the Republican vote was down 32 per cent in Pennsylvania and an astonishing 55 per cent in Michigan. And the issues that are apt to dominate this November's election—the economy and Watergate—are perfectly designed to ruin Republicans. The "economy" issue will energize Democrats. And Watergate will keep Republicans at home. That is a recipe for losing 70 Republican seats.

Of course it would be folly to underestimate the Republican Party's capacity for folly. Some of its distinguished members are busy trying to explain away the Michigan debacle. But the trophy for positive thinking about negative events goes to the *Chicago Tribune*, which noted in an editorial that there are a lot of Dutch Protestants in the Fifth District, and, well, maybe they feel more deeply than the non-Dutch Protestant majority of Americans do about Watergate immorality. Other bitter-end positive thinkers in the GOP say: issues besides Watergate—issues like unemployment, inflation, the energy crisis—were more important than Watergate in turning the supposedly "safe" Republican seat into a Democratic seat. Note well: Such talk is just the way Republicans whistle past their 70 or so waiting graves. They really know what the bottom line says: Mr. Nixon is the problem.

BEFORE this column reaches you, gentle reader, there will have been another special election, this one in Cincinnati. Then there will be two more, in Michigan and California. They are all in supposedly Republican districts. If two of these go Democratic, you can expect the safest vote they can cast will be a vote to send Mr. Nixon to trial in the Senate. Any congressman who votes against impeachment will have taken his stand with Mr. Nixon at a political Little Big Horn. But any congressman who votes for impeachment can maneuver. To pro-Nixon loyalists he can say: I made it possible for Mr. Nixon to get his day in court, and to clear his name, and to "end Watergate." To anti-Nixon constituents he can say: I have sent Mr. Nixon to his richly earned reward.

Because an impeachment vote is—or, by May, will be—the safe vote, this observer thinks Mr. Nixon will stand trial in the Senate. □

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JAMES BURNHAM

Roots of Terrorism

The Protracted Conflict

IN *NR*'S LAST ISSUE I discussed the increase of terrorist action and the trend toward international tie-ups among terrorist groups. There is no reason to think that this resurgence of terrorism is a temporary quirk.

I say "resurgence of terrorism" in order to stress the fact that terrorism is not something new in human history. At all times and many places men have gone in for terrorism in one or another measure. It is reasonable to conclude from the breadth and length of its pedigree that terrorism has roots deeply implanted in human nature. It is one of the marks of the savage that always lurks not far under the layer of civilization.

However, the recent multiplication of terrorist activities within or affecting Western nations is a novelty, and is peculiarly shocking to their citizens because most of them have long been committed to a humanitarian ideology in terms of which terrorism is not only immoral but unintelligible.

In the nineteenth century the most noticed upsurges of terrorism occurred in Czarist Russia and the Balkans. Accepted theory, focused thereon, held that tyranny was the root of terror: tyrannical government, by prohibiting other modes of expressing grievances and hopes, left its victims no recourse but terrorism. Our century adds a stress on what are stated to be intolerable social conditions that drive those subject to them to terrorist acts. For humanitarian sensibility, these two explanations are felt to excuse, or at least extenuate, the terrorists. However, both are demonstrably inadequate. Terrorism is flourishing today under several of the world's least tyrannical governments, and is absent under the most tyrannical. And there is no observable correlation between bad social conditions (if these are objectively defined) and the amount of terror.

Crime and Nonpunishment

A good deal of contemporary terrorism—such as many of the kidnappings in Italy, the gangster protection rackets, the operations of youth gangs in New York and Chicago, and, apparently, the Atlanta kidnapping, for which the criminal halfheartedly tried to construct a political cover—is straightforward criminal activity. A growing number of criminals use terrorism in the pursuit of their profession because they find from experience that terrorism pays.

But the rate of increase of politically or ideologically motivated terrorism is even higher. At the present time, the ideologies of the political terrorist groups are or incorporate, in most cases, what may be called "ultra-Marxism." Even when the groups begin as merely extreme nationalists (e.g., the IRA and the Palestinian groups) or antiwhite racists, they evolve toward ultra-Marxism. This evolution often goes through an orderly extremist sequence from official Communism to Maoism to neo-Trotskyism or some special variant adorned with rhetoric from Marcuse, Fanon, Debray, or some such. Even the passionately anti-Communist Colonel Qaddafi ends up giving money, arms, and sanctuary to Palestinian, Moroccan, and Tunisian terrorist groups that are all heavily tinged with Marxism.

What is common to all forms of ultra-Marxism is the doctrine—about which Marx himself was ambivalent—that existing Western ("capitalist," "imperialist") society is totally evil and must be totally destroyed. The ultra-Marxist is thus totally alienated; he has no obligation toward the existing society or anyone belonging to it. He is self-outlawed. The tactical conclusion is: therefore, in dealing with the existing society, anything goes.

This doctrine is one of the primary roots of contemporary terrorism. It is held also, though often diplomatically blurred, by the Soviet and Chinese states. It guides the complex dialectic by which they successfully suppress terrorism at home (in part by terrorist means) because it expresses remnants of totally evil capitalism, and at the same time nourish terrorism abroad, where and when judged tactically effective, because it is working toward the destruction of capitalism.

But in contemporary Western society there is an even more basic root of terrorism, of which ultra-Marxism may be only one prong. Many persons in the Western nations are opting out of the social contract (or "compact," as our founding fathers usually called it). "The social contract" means the organic structure of shared beliefs, values, rules, restraints, and so on that constitute us a civilized society. Some are embodied in law and constitution, but others, perhaps the most fundamental, are just there around us, part of the atmosphere our spirit breathes from birth. The social contract always includes, beyond and behind specific rules, the realization that not everything goes, that the line must be drawn somewhere. In civilized society, even the soldiers and the criminals—who are, after all, elements of every society—themselves recognize that the line must be drawn.

The Contract Revoked

All around us we have been seeing unmistakable signs of the revocation of the social contract: the breakdown of the family, decay of patriotism, generalized sexual promiscuity, spread of drug, hippie, commune, and other subcultures, exotic cults, open-ended permissiveness. These manifestations are ideologized by doctrines of civil disobedience, Thoreauism, priority of individual conscience, civil, racial, sexual, and other rights, extreme libertarianism, etc., which, even though they do not directly advocate terrorism, help to break down the intellectual, moral, and emotional restraints against terrorism that are implicit in the social contract.

Given a certain amount of terrorism, everyone understands by now that modern mass communications and rapid transport operate, psychologically as well as technically, to spread it.

A last, not inconsiderable, point: the combined affluence and softness of our present social condition almost seem to be asking terrorists to step up for the pickings. If the FBI doesn't manage to shoot them before arrest, the Symbionese chiefs will doubtless be starring on next year's college lecture circuits.

In a third round I shall consider whether anything can be done about our terrorism. □

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PRESIDENT NIXON has just presented us his first "post-Vietnam" defense budget, which contains some new initiatives and some evidence of the realities according to which we must assess our defense needs. As might be expected, given the rhetoric and politics of the recent past, the defense budget for fiscal 1975 is already under attack for extravagance (in dollar terms it is the largest on record), without any attempt on the part of the attackers to relate it to the realities with which it attempts to deal. It will be the subject of even greater controversy than other recent defense budgets, because the debate will now be focused on what strategies our expenditures should support.

First let me attempt to place the projected expenditures in some kind of perspective. After all, whether or not the proposed defense budget is extravagant or prudent depends not simply on the dollars allocated, but on the threats to be met and on our ability to pay what it will cost to meet them.

In terms of what we can afford, it is, at the very least, implausible to call "extravagant" a defense budget that constitutes the smallest percentage of total federal spending in more than 20 years and represents a smaller slice of the gross national product (5.9 per cent) than any budget since 1951. Finally, if we are interested in what the budget will buy in terms of research, development, and procurement, it represents in constant dollars the second lowest investment since 1964, the year we became seriously involved in the Vietnam war. Furthermore it is *second* lowest only because the percentage of defense spending devoted to pensions and payrolls has increased from 42 per cent to almost 60 per cent in the past four years, because of the move from draft-based to voluntary forces.

In the last analysis, however, what is an appropriate level of defense spending depends not on comparisons with prior years but on present need. It is in this context that I propose to review the realities that must determine how much the United States must spend in the coming fiscal year in order to provide for its own security and meet its international responsibilities. To determine this need, in turn, we must understand the implications of the rapidly increasing Soviet capability in both strategic and conventional weapons.

I began by saying that the proposed budget reflects new strategic concepts. These have been made necessary by the extraordinary advances the Soviet Union achieved during a period when the United States was engaged in an across-the-board retrenchment in its own military capabilities. This shift in relative forces has, in short, required us to reexamine the military thinking that has dominated our defense planning since the end of World War II.

This thinking was based first on the assumption of a nuclear monopoly, and thereafter on the assumption of a massive nuclear superiority. It enabled us to structure a network of regional security agreements on the assumption of the impermeability of an American "nuclear umbrella." The recent Soviet strides toward nuclear parity, and beyond, have rendered our entire strategy of the 1950s and 1960s obsolete. The American nuclear umbrella is, simply stated, no longer credible—either to us or to our allies; or, more importantly, to our potential adversaries.

This is why it is so important to reexamine the strategic thinking that has dominated our nuclear policy for the last two decades. For we are still captive

Racing against the Arms Race

A credible military posture in today's world requires strategic flexibility, not simply a bang big enough to blow the earth back to the second day of creation. And we can afford flexibility

JAMES L. BUCKLEY

ON SALT II

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to past strategic clichés, as when the Congress automatically reacts against any proposal that we acquire the accuracy to aim our nuclear missiles at Soviet military or industrial targets, rather than at their civilian population, because of the fear that the ability to do so would give us the "counterforce" capability to carry out a preemptive first strike. Back when Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara's Mutual Assured Destruction policy was the accepted gospel, such a capability was considered provocative. But now that the nuclear powered, missile launching submarine has been introduced into the calculus of atomic warfare, a preemptive strike is no longer possible, and the argument for denying ourselves a capability to strike at targets other than civilians is no longer rational.

It is into this arena of preconditioned thinking that the 1975 budgetary proposals have been tossed, including the necessary but provocative proposal that the United States invest modest sums in developing a flexibility of strategic targeting that will enable us to match the capabilities which the Soviets are well on their way to achieving.

Before going into the specifics of our defense needs, it should be made clear that U.S. defense preparedness has been in decline since the mid-1960s. (The defense budget was high in the late Sixties, but those extra expenses were directly attributable to the fighting in Southeast Asia.) Neither the exigencies of the Vietnam war nor the "second to none" rhetoric of the current Administration has served to arrest this decline, which affects both strategic and general-purpose (i.e., conventional) forces. Evidence of this is abundant. Press reports of U.S. base closings, strident congressional rhetoric against even the most timid steps to improve our defense posture, a shrinking fraction of U.S. resources devoted to defense—all these contrast sharply with parallel press reports of new Soviet ICBM deployments, multiple warhead tests, two new bombers, a new submarine, and so on. Such anecdotal information, disquieting enough, is less disquieting than the sheer arithmetic of the decline.

The data of Table I tell the story of the U.S. disinvestment in defense paralleling the USSR's singular effort to develop its full range of military force and weaponry. Using this information as background, I will examine the state of our defense posture in 1974 in four areas: strategic forces, general-purpose (or conventional) forces, military research and development, and the coupling of our defense posture to diplomacy, with special attention to the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks and the conference on Mutual Reduction of Forces and Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe (MURFAAMCE).

1. Strategic Forces. For nearly five years, the most conspicuous decline in our relative defense posture has been in our strategic nuclear force, expenditures for which have fallen off from nearly one-third of the defense budget in the late 1950s to less than one-tenth today. In absolute terms, we are spending half as much money for strategic forces now as we spent then. Yet it was only the prodigious effort of the 1950s in strategic forces which made it possible for President Kennedy to compel the Soviets to withdraw their missiles from Cuba. Since that time, however, we have taken dangerous risks by allowing so dramatic a rate of decline in investment over so many years. It is encouraging that White House budget planners are taking this matter seriously.

Lest the recent SALT accords mislead anyone concerning Soviet zeal to acquire and develop superior armaments, I offer (in Table II) a comparison of post-SALT efforts by both sides. The meaning is clear: the Soviet effort is just as intense now as it was before the SALT accords. Soviet deployments to date far exceed the technical requirements of deterrence, by U.S. standards. What this suggests is that the Soviets' strategic objectives are not confined to deterring nuclear war simply by maintaining the power to annihilate an enemy's civilian population. In his recent study, *Soviet Military Power*, John Erickson, the noted British expert on Soviet military affairs, cited an extensive debate which occurred in the Soviet military establishment after the departure of Khrushchev in 1964. This debate resolved the issue of nuclear strategy by decisively rejecting American notions of "assured destruction" and "minimum deterrence." According to Professor Erickson, the following doctrinal conclusions emerged from the debate:

1. Soviet nuclear forces should be "primarily directed against the enemy's means of nuclear attack."

2. "Superiority" was an appropriate objective for Soviet strategic force planning—superiority being defined as either a) the adequacy of strategic forces to effect a favorable "relationship of forces" in a given time and place (i.e., the ability to "win" a nuclear war in the event deterrence failed); or b) simple quantitative superiority "developed in peacetime."

3. In Soviet jargon, "military-technical superiority rested upon providing that 'quantity and quality of nuclear munitions and their means of delivery,' hence the resources must be allocated to this task."

This difference between U.S. and Soviet doctrinal approaches makes it easier to understand how it happened that U.S. spending for strategic forces has declined from nearly $16 billion annually in the late 1950s to only half that amount today (and if one allows for inflation, we are now spending only 25 per cent as much to deter nuclear war as we did 15 years ago). And this same difference of approach makes

James Buckley was elected to the U. S. Senate in 1970.

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clear the rationale behind the Soviet effort.

Another perspective on relative strategic effort is provided by comparing total defense expenditures in terms of what the defense dollar/ruble actually buys. The authoritative International Institute for Strategic Studies estimates total current Soviet expenditures at between $87.2 and $90.6 billion—or between $7 and $15 billion more than our own. To place these figures in proper perspective, we must keep in mind that the Soviet Union spends 30 to 35 per cent of its military budget on manpower. In contrast, the U.S., having eliminated selective service, spent 56 per cent of its military budget on manpower in 1973, up from 40 per cent in 1969. Thus, the Soviets have nearly twice as much to spend on weapons procurement, research and development, combat training, etc. as we have.

WE CANNOT expect that such stark asymmetry in effort and expenditure will have no consequences. Already we are witness to several simultaneous major Soviet advances of a kind which we simply cannot match without enormous budgetary increases: 1) the modernization of their surface navy; 2) the development of five new strategic ballistic missiles in one year; 3) the deployment of two major tactical aircraft (MiG 23 and MiG 25) simultaneously with the development/deployment of two strategic bombers (the BACKFIRE and a new Mach 3.2 heavy bomber); 4) deployment of two new missile launching submarines within one year (DELTA I and DELTA II); 5) a satellite interceptor system.

This level of effort suggests the Soviets spend for strategic forces *alone* more than twice what we spend. There are signs that, for the first time since the early 1960s, the magnitude of the problem is dawning on political leaders. Thus the Administration's proposed defense budget for the new fiscal year contains such initiatives as a new cruise missile, a new ICBM program, and the continued development of the TRIDENT missile and submarine and the B-1 bomber. But most importantly, we now see a recognition of the need to develop a flexibility of strategic response—the ability to attack Soviet military targets (including intercontinental nuclear missile installations) rather than limiting our capability to the devastation of cities—which Secretary of Defense Schlesinger has done so much to dramatize.

2. General-Purpose Forces. General-purpose forces are often overlooked in a discussion of strategic nuclear forces. Yet if it is true (and it is) that the Soviet Union will soon achieve, or has already achieved, parity with the United States in strategic power, then an actual resort to nuclear force becomes less and less plausible. In such a situation—the one in which we now find ourselves—the relative strengths of conventional forces are once again of primary importance. Table III shows the extent of our disinvestment in general-purpose forces since 1964 (the last pre-Vietnam year).

WHILE OUR disinvestment has accelerated since 1968, the Soviet Union has continued increasing the capacity of its conventional along with its strategic forces; they have increased their armed forces from 3.3 million in 1964 to 3.42 million in 1973. While our ground forces have declined, the Soviets have maintained 75 divisions at full strength throughout this period. Moreover, they have increased the total number of organized divisions that could be mobilized with reserves from 140 to 162 (105 motorized rifle divisions, 50 tank, and 7 airborne). These troops are being re-equipped with modern tanks (the T-62 and the M-1970), artillery, and antitank weapons.

The number of major vessels in the Soviet navy has been doubled (from 110 major surface combatants in 1964 to 212 today). The Soviet air force too has been expanded and modernized. It numbers 40,000 more men now than in 1964; it now deploys 8,250 combat aircraft (our Air Force has 5,750). And the Soviets are improving the capabilities of their tactical air force without significantly diminishing its numbers. The recent introduction of the advanced MiG-23 (FLOGGER) and the MiG-25 (FOXBAT) proves they are still willing to spend large sums for high quality general-purpose forces.

But just as relative strategic strength cannot be considered in a vacuum, neither can relative conventional strength. Each element plays a part in the overall equation of power.

Weakness in conventional forces can lead to general nuclear war as easily as obvious weakness in strategic forces, simply by inviting an adventurism which could escalate to nuclear war. The chief historical characteristic of U.S.-Soviet relations has hardly been

TABLE I

	1964		1973	
	U.S.	USSR	U.S.	USSR
ICBM[1]	834	200	1,054	1,527
SLBM[2]	416	120	656	628
Missile Payload Capacity as % of U.S.[3]	—	60%	—	400%
Heavy Bombers	630	190	442	170
Medium Bombers	647	900	74	700
Divisons[4]	19⅓	150	16	150
Tactical Air Squadrons	119	200	103	200
SAM Launchers[5]	1,500	8,000	481	10,000
Major Naval Vessels	544	110	334	212

[1] *Intercontinental ballistic missiles. Under the first round Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) accords, the U.S. is limited to a maximum of 1,054; the Soviets may have 1,530.*

[2] *Submarine launched ballistic missiles. The U.S. limit is 710 under the SALT accords, the Soviets may have 1,016.*

[3] *Payload capacity ("throw weight") is the amount of weight which can be carried by a missile to a target. For a given level of technological sophistication, the number of warheads which can be placed on a given missile is proportional to its throw weight. Thus, if the Soviets achieved the U.S. level of warhead design sophistication, their force could carry more than four times the number of warheads carried on U.S. missiles.*

[4] *U.S. and Soviet division structures are not directly comparable. The U.S. has 997,000 men in active Army and Marine divisions; the Soviets have 2,067,000 in active Army and Marine units. The Soviet divisions range in size from 7,000 to 10,000 while U.S. divisions range from 14,000 (Airborne) to 19,000 (Marine).*

[5] *All U.S. (antiaircraft) surface-to-air missiles are scheduled to be phased out by mid-1975. SOURCES: International Institute for Strategic Studies, MILITARY BALANCE, 1973-74 and HANDBOOK ON THE SOVIET ARMED FORCES, Defense Intelligence Agency.*

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stability. The current detente is highly dependent on the personalities of the leaders who fashion it, and any change in Soviet leadership could sharply change the diplomatic atmosphere that has made a substantive investment in conventional forces so unfashionable in the U.S. Soviet assertiveness in last year's Mideast war may serve as a hint of things to come: first they deployed so many ships that our own fleet was outnumbered by three to two; then they announced their intention to send troops to the region in words that Senator Jackson described as "brutal." It is not certain who would have won a naval battle; but if President Nixon had not raised the stake by alerting our strategic nuclear forces, the Soviets might have succeeded in introducing their own conventional forces into the Mideast.

Our own security does not require us to maintain general-purpose forces sufficient for the role of "world policeman." But it does require us to be able to send in an occasional "riot squad" to intervene quickly and effectively whenever and wherever necessary. Our failure to do so would not merely invite conflicts with the Soviets by miscalculation, but could plunge the world inexorably into a deadly state of anarchy at a time when weapons of mass destruction are increasingly within the grasp of smaller nations. A world without a superpower capable of intervention may soon be a world in which 20 to 25 states will be able to lob nuclear bombs and missiles at each other or even us.

TABLE II

Type of Weapon	USSR	U.S.
ICBM	SS-X: 16 in development; possible SS-11 replacement. SS-X: 17 in development; possible SS-11 replacement. SS-X: 18 in development; to replace SS-9. SS-X: 19 in development; multiple warheads to replace SS-11. Land Mobile ICBM—limited deployment.	No new developments. Paper studies of a new ICBM for 1980s initiated.
SLBM	SS-N-8 4000+ n.m. missile (similar to proposed U. S. TRIDENT)—now deployed.	TRIDENT I and II missile: in development, deployment by late 1970s or early 1980s.
Missile Launching Submarine	DELTA I 12 SSN-8 missiles—now deployed. DELTA II 16 SSN-8 missiles—developed.	TRIDENT Submarine: in development for early 1980s.
Strategic Bomber	BACKFIRE Mach 2.0 now deployed. SUKTOI-type Mach 3.2 in development.	B-1: in development —possible deployment by 1977.

3. Military Research and Development. Research and development is perhaps the hardest part of the defense program to evaluate. At any given time in the United States there are over 3,000 separate R&D projects in progress, and obviously nobody can know in advance which of these may result in some technological breakthrough of far greater significance than a more expensive project directed merely toward the incremental improvement of existing weapons. Overall, the level of aggregate effort provides some guide to the number of projects which can be undertaken, and therefore is as useful a guide as we have to possibilities for technological surprise from the USSR.

Since 1968, U.S. military R&D has been cut by 21 per cent (after allowing for inflation), while Soviet R&D has been sustained at a level 50 per cent higher than ours now. We should therefore not be surprised to find the Soviets simultaneously testing several new ICBMs, high performance aircraft, nuclear submarines, and a new tank. Dr. John S. Foster, the former Director of Defense Research and Engineering, observed that the Soviets' level of military R&D permitted them to conduct twice as many projects as we have been able to conduct. And there is a subtler point that the aggregate figures tend to obscure. As our R&D effort becomes smaller, we are obliged to spend an ever increasing fraction of our R&D resources on "safe bets" or on well understood programs that are very likely to be deployed. Unless we make a major effort to catch up after our years of neglect, we may some day face Soviet technological advances difficult or impossible to overcome in the short run.

The near future may hold important improvements in such areas as antisubmarine warfare, antiaircraft and ballistic missile defense, and tactical warfare —as well as fundamental breakthroughs in such fields as laser offensive and defensive weapons, particle beam weapons, and devices yet unknown. Some of these might prove so significant as to alter drastically the international balance of power. It would be simply inexcusable to permit such advantages to accrue to the Soviet Union for no better reason than our own want of will to invest enough money.

As we increase our own R&D investment, we must make certain that our trade policy with the Soviets permits them neither to acquire technology applicable to their military program nor to shift significant resources from civilian to military programs.

4. Defense and Diplomacy. The U.S. is now engaged in several major diplomatic efforts, multilateral and bilateral, with the Soviet Union and its East European allies. Of these, the most important to U.S. security are the SALT talks. They are also the most sensitive to our strategic defense posture. The first round SALT accord consisted of two separate agreements. One, in treaty form, prohibited deployment by either side of more than 200 antiballistic mis-

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siles. The second, in the form of an Executive Agreement, placed limitations on U.S. and Soviet deployments of ICBMs and SLBMs. Other means of nuclear weapons delivery—manned bombers, tactical aircraft, cruise missiles, and the like—were excluded.

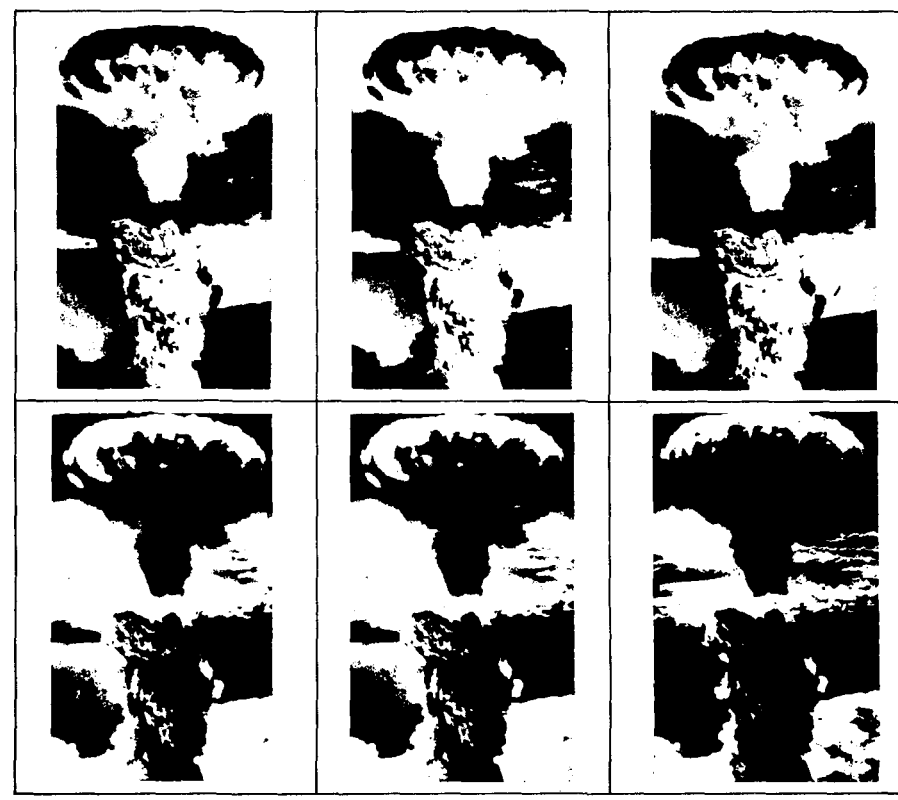
I voted against the ABM treaty (thereby accounting for 50 per cent of the formal opposition) because I believed no useful end was served by forbidding nuclear powers to defend their civilian populations from attack by nuclear-armed ballistic missiles. I am convinced that the ABM treaty will ultimately be terminated by virtue of the sheer necessity to be able to protect our cities from the prospect of nuclear blackmail, not just by the Soviet Union, but by the penny-ante states that will, predictably, be able to acquire in the years immediately ahead the capacity to lob a missile or two in our direction. For now, however, it remains a feature of the strategic landscape which limits the options a President has to provide for the protection of American civilians.

The second element of the 1972 SALT accords is one which we should not and do not have to accept permanently. The initial terms of the agreement are, in the long run, so obviously in the Soviets' favor that the Congress refused to approve them without a rider stipulating that any permanent agreement on strategic offensive weapons could not provide for less than parity for the United States. The SALT I agreement provided the Soviets with an overwhelming quantitative superiority in the most important measure of the ultimate capability of a strategic force —namely, its payload capacity ("throw weight"). It provided for a three to two Soviet numerical advantage in the number of ICBMs (1530 *v.* 1054), SLBMs (1016 *v.* 710), and missile firing submarines (62 *v.* 44); but because of the larger payload capacity of many of the Soviet missiles, their aggregate "throw weight" advantage came to more than four to one. The advantage the U.S. now enjoys with respect to the number of individual warheads it can deliver against Soviet targets is a wasting asset, as it reflects no more than our ability to deliver more warheads per ton of "throw weight" than the Soviets. If, by 1978 when the SALT I Interim Agreement expires, the Soviets merely match the 1968 technology of our Minuteman III and Poseidon warhead designs, they would by then enjoy a four to one advantage over the United States in the number of warheads they could deploy.

TABLE III

	1964	1973	CHANGE (as %)
Army Divisions	16⅓	13	−20.4
Aircraft Carriers (all types)	24	16	−33.3
Carrier Air Wings	24	13	−45.8
Marine Div./Air Wings	3/3	3/3	—
Air Force Tactical Squadrons	117	103	−12.0
Commissioned Ships	932	594	−36.3
Total active duty forces	2.69M	2.25M	−16.4

This potential qualitative inferiority underscores the need for the United States to invest the sums required for the research and development that will assure us of no less than strategic parity, whatever the outcome of the current SALT talks. Only such an effort will deter the Soviets from trying to gain diplomatic advantage from their potential strategic superiority. If, moreover, we are to have any serious chance at the current SALT negotiations to persuade the Soviets to restrain the growth of their military force, it is essential that we possess the major modern strategic weapons which effect deterrence, namely the Minuteman III, the TRIDENT missile and submarine, and the B-1 strategic bomber. These are not "bargaining chips"—they are the kind of hardware needed to modernize existing systems, which will be verging on the obsolete by the time replacements become available. If these new systems are deployed, it will be a clear signal to the Soviet planners that they will either have to agree to sensible arms limitations or embark upon an endless arms race in which the United States will enjoy every economic and technological advantage, assuming we have the political will to continue the contest. To provide some idea of the power of a threat to mobilize the U.S. industrial base to rearmament, I have made



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the following calculation: I have applied to our present economy the fraction of our GNP devoted to defense in Fiscal Year 1953, during the height of our Korean War effort. The result was a potential defense budget of $160 billion.

ONCE the Soviets cause us to initiate a large scale process of rearmament, they have lost the race. While there was some dislocation in the U.S. civilian economy in 1953, it could hardly be described as privation. The possibility of such a massive defense effort, tactfully hinted at by the deployment of advanced strategic systems, could inspire the kind of prudence in the Soviet leadership which could result in an equitable agreement. But a failure to deploy these systems would have precisely the reverse effect, giving the Soviets no incentive to negotiate responsibly, and in fact encouraging a long course of military adventurism, as the U.S. became less and less capable of influencing the course of international events.

Although the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks are of the greatest importance in mitigating the direct threat to our survival posed by the Soviet strategic nuclear forces, the negotiation most immediately important to our European allies is the conference on the Mutual Reduction of Forces and Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe (formerly known as Mutual and

Balanced Force Reduction). The purpose of this conference is to permit a mutual and, one hopes, balanced reduction of forces on NATO's central front. These complex negotiations cannot succeed unless the U.S. is willing to maintain a military presence of undiminished effectiveness to offset what would otherwise be the overwhelming Soviet military—and therefore, ultimately, diplomatic—influence over the free nations of Western Europe. Europeans need to overcome their tendency to rely too heavily on the United States (as to some extent they already have: European troops on the central front account for 74 per cent of the forces stationed there), but we cannot afford to forget that our security is not separable from Western Europe's. Soviet ascendency in Europe would be more likely to lead to a major war than any event I can imagine. There are, it is true, some improvements in technology which may permit some reduction in the U.S. troop presence in Europe by increasing the effectiveness of those troops that remain. Indeed, the MURFAAMCE talks are unlikely to succeed unless the United States emphasizes its resolution to use qualitatively superior tactical doctrine, organization, and equipment to offset the Soviet advantage in numbers.

FINALLY, our strategic doctrine itself is likely to come up as a subject of these diplomatic sessions. For the past three years I have been urging a modification of our doctrine by encouraging research and development on means to make our strategic nuclear forces more discriminating and flexible. The passage of events, and especially the growth of Soviet nuclear forces, has made our threat of all-out retaliation less and less credible—and to the extent such a perception lingers, the fabric of deterrence is weakened. If, however, the President had other options—including, let us say, the power to destroy critical parts of the Soviet military and industrial infrastructure—then deterrence would be strengthened, and the chance of war reduced. Having urged that funds be spent for this purpose, I am gratified that such an effort is now likely to be made as a result of the proposals advanced by Secretary of Defense Schlesinger.

There has been a great deal of overstatement in the armament debate. Such a flexible capability will provide neither the means for nor even the hint of a coercive diplomacy by the United States; nor will it lead the Soviet Union to initiate nuclear war to preempt an eventual U.S. first strike. It will merely give a future President an improved set of tools with which to deter a nuclear attack on us or our allies. Given the shift in the strategic balance over the last five years, this is only prudent. □

TABLE IV

	TROOPS (000's)	MAIN BATTLE TANKS	TACTICAL AIRCRAFT
NATO			
United States	190	2,100	230
United Kingdom	55	600	130
Canada	3	30	50
Belgium	65	450	140
Netherlands	72	2,950	140
West Germany	334	3,300	530
Total	719	9,430	1,220
WARSAW PACT			
Soviet Union	430	6,850	1,250
Czechoslovakia	150	2,500	500
East Germany	90	1,350	320
Poland	201	3,100	700
Total	871	13,800	2,770

The arithmetic of the balance of forces in Central Europe tells at a glance why these talks are so important to the security of Europe.

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DUTY, HONOR, COUNTRY

Should West Point Survive?

EGON R. TAUSCH

"Duty—Honor—Country . . . The unbelievers will say they are but words, but a slogan, but a flamboyant phrase. Every pedant, every demagogue, every cynic, every hypocrite, every troublemaker, and, I am sorry to say, some others of an entirely different character, will try to downgrade them even to the extent of mockery and ridicule. . . ."
—Douglas MacArthur,
Speech at West Point,
May 12, 1962

THE CURRENT reevaluation of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point is nothing new. After World War I had "ended all war," Congress dabbled with the idea of abolishing the Academy, and only the personal influence of its Superintendent, General MacArthur, headed off such a move. The present interest of the news media in West Point began long before the end of American involvement in Vietnam and was, to a large extent, an outgrowth of the opposition to the war.

Antimilitarists have always feigned amusement at the more traditional, and therefore elitist, customs at the school, but within the last two years the attacks have become more serious. The *New York Times* began with interviews of disgruntled cadets and hopeful predictions of massive dissent within the Corps of Cadets. *Times* Op-Ed articles, such as one by Lieutenant Colonel King, have questioned whether West Point ought not be abolished, being "irrelevant to modern needs." What the articles lacked in objectivity, they made up for in apparent authority —no matter that both King and Lieutenant Colonel Herbert, another favorite of the *Times*, had turned antimilitary only after being passed over for promotion.

The occasional cadet-turned-conscientious-objector added fuel to the discussion, as did Herbert's apologia *Soldier*, and, more recently, Johnson and Galloway's book, *West Point: America's Power Fraternity*, which affected to find it shocking that well educated engineer officers and administrators go on to important governmental and industrial careers.

Typical of misinformed reporting were the *Times* and *Newsweek* articles on the cadet who spent his last year "Silenced" (socially ostracized) by the Corps for an honor violation. This "brutal" punishment was not, as reported, imposed in spite of the cadet's "vindication." The Honor Committee, consisting entirely of cadets, found the man guilty of cheating. According to regulations, if a cadet refused to resign, and a board of officers did not wish to add their power to the Committee's ruling by official expulsion (in the recent case, because of a technicality), the Cadet Corps could vote to ostracize the man in an effort to force his resignation—which is what is meant by the Honor Code: "A cadet does not lie, cheat, or steal, or tolerate those who do." The cadet in the recent instance accepted the Silencing, graduated, and appeared somewhat puzzled by the indignation of the press. (Silencing has since been abolished.)

Media discussions of West Point advance the contradictory opinions that the institution is shaken by change and dissension, and that it is totally reactionary and unchanging. Actually, neither is the case. The "Long Gray Line" is as yet neither pacifist nor hippie. Instructors are still impressed (or shocked) by the well scrubbed, healthy looking cadets with their Middle American values. Because of changes in the population at large in the last few years, the cadets are mostly from the South and Midwest and from suburban areas elsewhere. Most have shown high abilities in mathematics, science, and athletics, and correspondingly lower grades in the humanities. Like other high school graduates, they are woefully deficient in reading and writing skills. The Cadet Corps was recently enlarged from 2,000 to 4,000, with predictable results. A harmful, but traditional, policy—the crucial peer ratings by the cadets themselves—tends to discourage both originality and conspicuous excellence. The Academy and the Army in general may have to learn the hard way that success in battle and professionalism are not functions of democratically determined peer-group popularity.

There has been a noticeable change in the social backgrounds of the cadets: fewer now come from upper and upper middle class families; according to information compiled by the Academy, almost half are the sons of small farmers, blue collar workers, mechanics, or people in similar occupations. Recent comparative questionnaires reveal that in political and social views cadets are only slightly more conservative than their counterparts in civilian colleges, except on such specific issues as illegal demonstrations.

THINGS ARE changing, mostly in response to outside pressure. In order to recruit among inner city minorities, where the academically proficient are few and usually antimilitary, entrance standards have been lowered and even waived. Obviously, the immediate result is that some qualified applicants are excluded—a genuine hardship for dedicated military aspirants to whom another college would be of little value. But more seriously, soon after the inception of this program it became evident that the cadets thus admitted were failing at a disturbing rate, to the embarrassment of the Academy and the cruel disappointment of the cadets. There remained two alternatives: lower the academic quality of West Point or force remedial courses on the chronically overworked and overscheduled cadets. Many instructors are actively lobbying for the latter course, but the former is already in evidence. Since one "deficient" (F) course grade is technically enough for expulsion, there is pressure to pass everyone. The administration continues to be admonished for the overwhelmingly WASP makeup of the Corps, and it is unrealistic to expect that it can long hold out.

The academic instructors at West Point are no longer all professional

(Continues on page 335)

Mr. (formerly Capt.) Tausch taught at West Point until recently; he now studies law in Texas.

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LEGAL SERVICES

Nader-Types and Nixon-Types

HOWARD PHILLIPS

RICHARD NIXON may be on the verge of signing into law a bill which would a) help thwart the social values and public policies for which he campaigned in 1972, b) limit the ability of American citizens to control their government through the electoral process, and c) provide a yearly subsidy in excess of $100 million to aid some of the nation's most radical causes and organizations.

The bill is HR 7824, a radically transformed version of an already liberal bill which Mr. Nixon sent to Congress in May 1973. Its object is to "transfer" the OEO legal services program virtually intact—personnel, administrative rules, grant commitments —to an "independent" private corporation where, although it would be federally subsidized, the program would be totally removed from legal accountability to the President or to the Congress.

Operating through a nationwide network of more than 250 privately controlled projects, with roughly 2,500 attorneys and additional thousands of support personnel, the OEO legal services program has been in the forefront of such issues as abortion on demand, forced busing for racial balance, elimination of work requirements for welfare recipients, unionization of government employees, as well as quotas in employment, education, and assignment of private housing. It has strayed a long way from the original concept: a program designed to benefit individual poor people with legal problems.

With a mandate for "law reform," legal services projects have drafted "model" legislation on subjects as diverse as no-fault insurance and juvenile court procedures. A number of them have registered lobbyists in state capitols, working to pass the Equal Rights Amendment or pushing for increases in minimum wage laws. They have furnished staff support, in the form of research and technical assistance, to favored legislators such as George McGovern, with whom they closely worked on "hunger" and welfare issues. George Moscone, the Democratic Majority Leader of the California Senate, says their services to him "include but are by no means limited to initiating legislative proposals . . . identifying and selecting favorable authors to carry these legislative proposals . . . drafting the legislation, preparing amendments, the provision of other witnesses to testify," etc.

Their legislative advocacy can verge on the ludicrous, as well as the dangerous. In May 1973 a lobbyist for California Rural Legal Assistance testified against a proposal by State Senator Dennis Carpenter designed to ban possession of firearms and other deadly weapons on campuses, except by police and certain other employees. CRLA argued that the measure "could lead to estrangement between youth and teachers, destroying a conducive atmosphere for learning."

"Law reform," as OEO legal services interpret it, means also test case litigation, amicus curiae briefs in support of friendly organizations (e.g., American Civil Liberties Union, Planned Parenthood, National Organization for Women), class action suits, and use of government-subsidized travel, training, and publications to advance their causes. Boycotts, demonstrations, and picket lines have been systematically aided by legal services attorneys.

NOR HAVE they ignored ballot proposals and referenda. In California they worked in 1973 to defeat Governor Reagan's Proposition #1 tax ceiling plan. In Arizona they helped organize the attempted recall of Governor Jack Williams. They have helped to organize grass roots advocacy groups such as the American Indian Movement, the Berkeley anti-police Hippie Youth Coalition, the National Committee to Combat Fascism, the Movement for a Democratic Military, and the Addicts Rights Organization. Two groups, the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO) and the National Tenants Organization (NTO) have had literally millions of dollars worth of assistance in mounting legal challenges and organizing rent strikes, not to mention considerable office equipment and staff support.

Legal services projects are not accountable to public authority in the areas where they function. Many of them include leaders of groups like Common Cause, the American Friends Services Committee, and others. Each of these projects is directly funded from Washington by career civil servants (of exclusively liberal experience and inclination). Even when there is proof of mis-, mal-, or non-feasance by one of the projects, it is virtually impossible to discontinue funding for them because of an elaborate chain of procedural safeguards built into law, regulation, and administrative precedent.

WITH guaranteed annual salaries, the lawyers who work for these projects are free of the economic constraints which make attorneys in private practice dependent on their clients. It costs them nothing to harass people (rich and poor) on their "enemies" lists, who often choose to yield, rather than sustain the burden of extended litigation. The staff attorneys can, and do, spend weeks planning reputation-building legal breakthroughs which are, after all, more "efficient" in achieving law reform than the tedious representation of needy individuals.

There are other problems, too: representation of juveniles without parental consent, widespread partisan activity, use of lawyers not admitted to the bar, and subsidy of Ralph Nader-type public interest law firms. HR 7824 will soon face final action in the House of Representatives. As presented it provides statutory extension of the program's worst abuses, while increasing the resources available and almost completely foreclosing any future prospect for reform.

Whether out of ignorance, a desire to appease liberals (the *Washington Post* said Nixon would "earn much credit" by backing the bill), or knowing intent, the Nixon Administration is pushing HR 7824. □

Mr. Phillips was formerly the Acting Director of OEO.

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RUSSIA'S AMOS

The Prophetic Calling of Solzhenitsyn

GERHART NIEMEYER

By now, Solzhenitsyn has become something like a fad, particularly on campuses. I am not sure I welcome that, even though at this moment I am doing my share to further it. A fad is a kind of emotional self-indulgence feeding on our soul's complacent surface agitation; this is a most inadequate response to a person who is giving his entire self in a way in which we have not seen self-giving for a long time. A book by Solzhenitsyn's friend and admirer Zhores A. Medvedev, *Ten Years after Ivan Denisovich*, may recall us to that earnest soul-searching which alone is a worthy reaction to Solzhenitsyn's work and passion. For that man is not merely a gifted writer, a giant of world literature, but also foremost among those "which hunger and thirst after righteousness," and "which are persecuted for righteousness' sake." His is both a literary achievement and a path of suffering, combining into an historical event of transcending importance.

Medvedev offers his book as an "*hommage*" to Solzhenitsyn, as the French would put it, a *Festschrift* commemorating the tenth anniversary of *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, which established Solzhenitsyn's fame. The writer was then an unknown schoolteacher in Ryazan, recently rehabilitated after an eight-year term in labor camps and an additional three years of exile. A friend got the unheralded manuscript into the hands of Aleksandr Tvardovsky, the editor of *Novy Mir*, the Soviet literary journal. Tvardovsky opened the manuscript casually in bed that night, then, getting more excited on every page, got up again and read it through the night. What so aroused him must have been first the sheer power of the writer's creativeness, his sovereign mastery of the Russian language, the force of the characters, and the sparsity of the style. These, however, did not alone account for the enormous effect of the book. One Soviet reviewer, a Stalinist who later turned viciously against Solzhenitsyn, put it this way: "But why is it that upon reading this remarkable story not only is one's heart wrung with grief but a light penetrates one's soul? It is because of the story's profound humanity . . ."

Mr. Niemeyer is a professor of political philosophy at Notre Dame.

Medvedev himself sees the book and all of Solzhenitsyn's work as a break in the dark night of Russia: "Such is the history of our country that I do not know anybody who would not identify the fate of Solzhenitsyn's heroes with the fate of his nearest and dearest. Many people read his books several times over, trying to comprehend the significance of the events and mentally experiencing them so acutely that they have failed to notice, or ignored, the subtlety of style, the linguistic innovations, and the vivid imagery. Everything was swallowed up in the awareness of an important truth told . . ." There it is: the darkness of falsehood is lifted for a moment, the people see a ray of light, and a literary work turns for them into a dimension of life that many had given up as unattainable. It is an experience we may have great difficulty in sharing, and yet it is an experience of universal concern. Solzhenitsyn sees himself as one who, by telling the truth of the camps, the truth of history, the truth of the human condition, recovers the essence of humanity. As he put it in his Nobel lecture: "They will say to us: what can literature do against the remorseless onslaught of open violence? Ah, but let us not forget that violence does not and cannot exist on its own, it is inextricably bound up with the lie. . . . Violence has nothing to cover itself with except the lie and the lie has no way of maintaining itself except by violence." His main struggle as a writer, then, is against falsehood, the falsification of the past, the falsehood of the public pose, the falsehood of the authorities' pretense as against their real purpose.

Some understanding of what has been going on in the Soviet Union during the last 15 years is required, and Medvedev's book gives us a vivid account of it. Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin's crimes in 1956 was made in a secret speech. In 1961, however, at the XXII Party Congress, the past horrors were publicly mentioned for the first time. This generated forces pressing toward reforms that would make any recurrence of such state crimes forever impossible. Tvardovsky and the board of *Novy Mir* belonged to them; they obtained the permission of a sympathetic Khrushchev to publish *Ivan Denisovich* in 1962. Within a few months, however, their opponents in the Party and Secret Police had rallied and mounted a counterattack which succeeded not only in blocking the publication of Solzhenitsyn's subsequent novels, but also in launching a campaign of harassment and persecution against him that culminated in his exile.

KGB Maneuvers

One of the reforms that had come in with de-Stalinization was the much-vaunted "Soviet legality," meaning that one could not be punished except for violating a law. For the past eight years, the KGB sought to maneuver Solzhenitsyn into the position of a lawbreaker and a traitor. In 1973 the Soviet Union adhered for the first time to the Geneva Copyright Convention, and it is now moving toward legislation that would prohibit publication of a Soviet author's works abroad, something that was not illegal until now. In 1965, the KGB raided the quarters of one of Solzhenitsyn's friends and confiscated some of the writer's papers, which he had left there for safekeeping, among them the only extant copy of a poem he had composed while in labor camp and then resolved never to publish, because of its bitterness. After the KGB had obtained this copy, fragments of it cropped up in sundry public lectures which began to denounce and slander Solzhenitsyn, or in press articles attacking the author. Worst of all, a copy turned up in the hands of a publishing house in West Germany run by emigré Russians, contact with whom was strictly forbidden by Soviet law. At the

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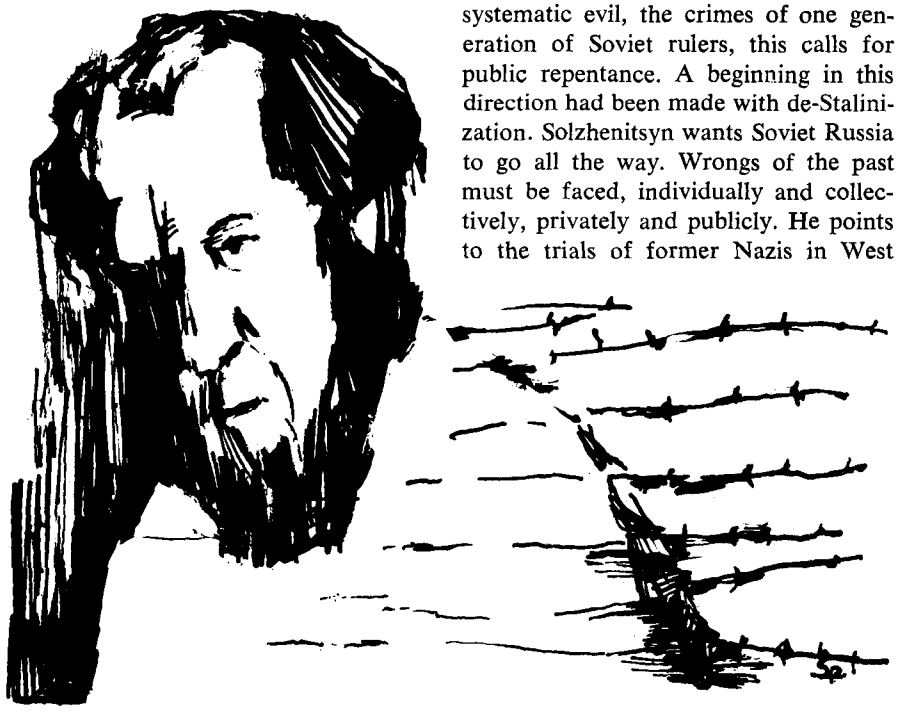
same time, public speakers began to falsify Solzhenitsyn's war record, insinuating that he had surrendered to and cooperated with the Fascists. His family past was distorted to make it appear that he was descended from great landowners (which he is not), and his name came to be misspelled as *Solzhenitzer*, hinting that he may be a Jew. The list of harassments is long and would be ludicrous if it were not tragic. All of this was part of a campaign to neutralize and destroy the courageous artists, scientists, teachers, and writers who had come out for an end to the official violence and lies. Some were sent to labor camps, others to insane asylums, still others abroad where their passports and citizenship were lifted from them, all of them separated from friends, expelled from organizations, denied jobs and living quarters, relentlessly pressured and intimidated.

How for his part has Solzhenitsyn conducted this fight? One is reminded of Robert Bolt's lines in *A Man for All Seasons*: "God made the *angels* to show him splendor—as he made animals for innocence and plants for their simplicity. But Man he made to serve him wittily, in the tangle of his mind! . . . Our natural business lies in escaping—so let's go home and study this Bill." Studying the bill is what Solzhenitsyn did, with the meticulous care of his mathematical mind. He avoided—religiously, one is tempted to say—infringing on Soviet law, including his refusal, until now, to publish *The Gulag Archipelago*, which he wrote in the late Fifties but had withheld because its content might be classified as "anti-Soviet." Essentially, he has acted through his public utterances. The press and journals were closed to him, so he argued in letters circulated in *samizdat*, the typewritten private duplication and distribution of unpublished material in Soviet Russia. His letter to the Writers' Union, his reply to slander published by *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, his message to the Metropolitan, Pimen, his Nobel lecture, and others have become documents that will be recited by many generations to come.



Recovery of Truth

What can Solzhenitsyn hope to accomplish? Above all, he aims at nothing that would be the objective of an enemy of the state. He is no subversive, seeks not to weaken Russia, sympathizes not with Russia's enemies. His letters are exhortations, calls to stop public wrongs and encouragements to do right instead. "Seek good, and not evil, that ye may live . . . Hate the evil, and love the good, and establish judgment in the gate." These words of Amos could paraphrase Solzhenitsyn's public utterances as well. His is the argument of righteousness. One does not argue with one's enemies; he who argues, cares. Solzhenitsyn loves his land, his people, his culture. He loves the good even more, and he wants the good life for his fellow countrymen. Against the background of systematic evil, the crimes of one generation of Soviet rulers, this calls for public repentance. A beginning in this direction had been made with de-Stalinization. Solzhenitsyn wants Soviet Russia to go all the way. Wrongs of the past must be faced, individually and collectively, privately and publicly. He points to the trials of former Nazis in West Germany. If in Russia 250,000 people were told, and would acknowledge publicly, that they had done wrong, a real turning point would be reached. To cover labor camps, places of torture, the murderous police, the inhuman warders with silence is the opposite of what is needed for Russia's health. Solzhenitsyn, a great writer, an incomparable artist, is also to Russia what Amos was to Israel: the watchman, the warner, the loving but stern admonisher, the mouthpiece of life's moral structure.

When Amos, standing in the sanctuary at Bethel, uttered his warnings to Israel, officialdom came down hard on him in the person of the king's priest, Amaziah: "Be off, you seer! Off with you to Judah! Never again prophesy at Bethel, for this is the king's sanctuary, and the king's palace." Solzhenitsyn, too, has now been driven out, never again to prophesy in Moscow. Like Dante, he has been barred from all the living concreteness of people, language, culture, which he has embraced with such deep and passionate love. Amos, Dante, Solzhenitsyn have talked about concrete situations and concrete persons and yet represented all humanity. Exiled at 55, Solzhenitsyn will surely continue to speak not only to Russia but also, as it were, from Russia. This is as it should be. For Russia's suffering, after all, is Western in origin, the violence oozing from the intellectuals' rape of truth, political arrogance feeding on intellectual pretenses that man can be his own savior. The Soviet system has resulted from a Western idea system, and intellectuals of Western mold have spearheaded the armed movements seeking to clamp their dream worlds on living peoples. Soviet rule must not be viewed at a distance, as something unfortunately happening "to them," but as something that represents us and the ideas we have hatched. Solzhenitsyn, emerging from the depth of the labor camps, rediscovered in his literary work the truth of living human beings and the full dimensions of human nature. In his personal contention with the regime, he has fought skillfully against mendacious, vindictive, oppressive bureaucracy. Every step of his artistic achievement, every facet of his fight against officialdom should be appropriated by us as our own. The recovery of Russia's truth is also a therapy for all men. □

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OPEN QUESTION

Torpedoing the Lusitania Thesis

HARRY V. JAFFA

SOME 40 years ago, as a high school student, I eagerly followed the revelations of the Nye Committee concerning "the merchants of death." These were the predecessors of "the military-industrial complex," the sinister fellows who went around fomenting wars and selling arms to both sides. Now the wheel has come full circle. My daughter, a high school junior, came home from school recently with a tale she had been told, of how the *Lusitania* was sunk as the result of a British plot to involve the United States in the war against Germany. I discovered that her teacher had relayed this information from a *Reader's Digest* version of Colin Simpson's book, *The Lusitania*, which I promptly read. It is all there, all the hoary chestnuts that had so earnestly been told to me by *my* high school history teacher—about J. P. Morgan's loans, the use of American passengers as a "living shield" for secret munitions cargoes, the clever misrepresentations of British propaganda, etc.

But it came as a surprise, if not a shock, to find Francis Russell, in his review of Simpson's book (Dec. 21, 1973), endorsing uncritically these ancient clichés. Mr. Russell is a writer and scholar whose work I admire. But the shrewd, unrelenting skepticism which served him so well in his research into the Sacco-Vanzetti case deserted him here.

"Only with the opening of the Admiralty and Foreign Office archives after half a century," writes Mr. Russell, "has Colin Simpson, a correspondent for the London *Sunday Times*, been able to write the comprehensive and definitive account of the great ship's fate." But what Mr. Simpson himself (as opposed to the dust jacket) actually says is that the naval intelligence files of the Admiralty for this period are still locked and sealed, making a "definitive" account impossible. I would like to know what *fact*, as distinct from unsupported hypothesis, is known to Mr. Simpson which was not known to Professor Thomas Bailey in 1935, when he wrote his classic essay on "The Sinking of the *Lusitania*" for the *American Historical Review*. Almost every important piece of evidence used by Simpson is taken either from Bailey's essay or from Bailey's edition of *Lusitania* documents.

"The *Lusitania* was, in fact, an armed cruiser, loaded with munitions. The Germans had every justification under international law for sinking her." This is the first part of the Simpson thesis, as summarized by Russell. But what evidence is there that the *Lusitania* was armed? I have searched the book in vain for it. The dockside in New York, in April 1915, was swarming with German agents, and the German embassy made repeated attempts to prove the *Lusitania* was armed. Had they been able to do so, they could have had her interned as a warship, and scored a tremendous propaganda victory. But they never could. One of their witnesses—Gustav Stahl, a German reservist—was convicted of perjury. Simpson suggests Stahl was framed, but he makes no attempt to explain why Stahl confessed to the perjury in open court.

What about the munitions on board? The truth is that neither the munitions (actual or merely alleged) nor the hypothetical guns had the least influence on the sinking. The U-boat captain was under orders to sink any British (or Allied) ship entering or leaving the British Isles that he could. And he did.

"Not only was the *Lusitania* armed," writes Mr. Russell, "but she sailed into a trap of which the Admiralty was well aware, for the British had broken the German naval code and knew the location of every U-boat. Was Churchill as First Lord of the Admiralty ready to sacrifice a great liner with those aboard in order to embroil the United States in war? So it seems." Again, Mr. Russell is in unseemly haste to agree with even more than Mr. Simpson asserts. Wireless intercepts were few and far between, and the Admiralty did not know the location of U-boats, except infrequently. In the 48 hours before the attack on the *Lusitania*, they knew of the U-20's location only by reports of ships attacked by her, or sighting her. All these were relayed promptly to the *Lusitania*.

But what about letting the *Lusitania* sail into a "trap"? This theory was widely held at the time by the Germans. According to Professor Bailey, in 1935, no evidence to support it had ever been found. What has Mr. Simpson turned up? He asserts that the *Lusitania*'s captain, William Turner, was under orders to rendezvous with a British cruiser, the *Juno*, just off the southwest coast of Ireland, and was to be escorted by the *Juno* through the submarine danger zone. Then, says Simpson, Fisher and Churchill, meeting in the Admiralty map room in the morning of May 5, 1915, had the *Juno* recalled from her patrol station off the Irish coast and failed to notify the *Lusitania*.

WHAT IS wrong with this story? As a story, nothing. As history, however, there is the small matter that there is not a fragment of a documented or attested fact to support it. The only source even mentioned for the supposed orders to meet the *Juno* is an unconfirmed interview in 1972 with Captain Turner's 92-year-old former housekeeper. But the Admiralty files, as given by Simpson himself, contain a denial that any such orders were given. Moreover, the same files indicate that the *Juno* was recalled from her station because she was dangerously unsuitable for anti-submarine duty, having no side or underwater armor. Moreover, the *Juno* had a top speed of only 19.5 knots, while the *Lusitania* was making 21 even under reduced steam.

Why was the *Lusitania* sunk? As to certain facts, there is no mystery at all. Whether her captain was under secret orders to seem to act foolishly, neither we nor Mr. Simpson can say. But foolishly he did act. Entering the danger zone, he slowed his ship down, presumably to avoid reaching port before the tide, and then took a straight line up the coast. Had the *Lusitania* maintained her speed in combination with any of the evasive tactics recommended by the Admiralty or by common sense, the U-20 could never have reached her. Mr. Simpson's "trap" is pure fantasy. □

Mr. Jaffa is a professor of political science at Claremont Men's College.

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The Right to Be Let Alone

WILLIAM F. RICKENBACKER

Land of the Free

IF A REVOLUTION occurs in the United States it will occur because we're all fed up with the system. It is not the harsh and cruel tyranny that Russia has. I know. It is what Tocqueville described as the tyranny that flows from too much democracy—"absolute, minute, regular, provident, mild." And, Tocqueville added, "meddlesome." Meddlesome indeed. For some years now I have been getting angrier and angrier, and more helpless and more helpless, as the paperwork avalanche out of Washington has cluttered up more and more of my desk top, my working hours, my emotional energy, my statistical resources. You do not perhaps believe me.

My name is William Rickenbacker. Married. Two sons, Thomas and James, from previous marriage. Taxes all paid. No criminal record. Here is what the governmental system sent me in calendar 1973. Go ahead, read it word for word:

On January 3 they sent me, for Thomas, the federal income tax form, 26 pages. And for my corporation they sent me the corporate income tax forms, 20 pages. And for another corporation of mine, which has never done any business, they sent me the corporate income tax forms, 20 pages. And, same day, for James and Thomas, they sent me two Treasury forms 1099 and two other forms 1099, four pages in all. That was January 3.

On January 4 they sent me the federal income tax form for myself as an individual, 26 pages. James received his the same day, 26 pages. That was January 4.

On January 8 they sent my corporation a card requesting a federal employer identification number, one page.

On January 10 they sent the same corporation a quarterly federal income tax return and transmittal statement, four pages.

On January 11 they sent Thomas another form 1099, one page. And James, same day, received a form 1099, one page.

On January 15 they sent my corporation a 1973 employers' tax guide, 47 pages.

On January 30 they sent Thomas a New York state income tax form, ten pages. James received the same, ten pages. I received the same thing, ten pages. My redundant corporation received form CT-4 tax report, from the state corporate franchise tax collector's office, three pages, plus return envelope.

On February 5 they sent me some aircraft registration eligibility forms, four pages, plus return envelope.

On February 6 they sent my corporation a New York state franchise tax form, three pages, plus return envelope.

On March 1 they sent my corporation a rule amendment from the Securities and Exchange Commission, five pages.

On March 5 they sent my corporation a notice from the SEC withdrawing Rule 157, four pages.

On March 19 they sent my corporation seven corporation tax cards with notice to discontinue them if they weren't needed. Same day, they sent my inactive corporation the same thing, seven pages. Same day, they sent my corporation five withholding tax cards for the second calendar quarter, five pages.

On March 23 they sent my corporation the federal quarterly withholding tax form, two pages, plus return envelope.

On March 25 they sent my corporation some unemployment insurance forms, 27 pages, plus return envelope. Same day, they sent my corporation some disability insurance forms, two pages, plus return envelope.

That was for the first quarter 1973, and so it went, on and on and on, through the other three quarters.

Various levels of government had sent me in 1973 more than 50 separate mailings. These amounted to more than 500 pages of fine-print, confusing, unreadable, stultifying, bureaucratic regulations, plus two dozen return envelopes. Do this! Study that! Cancel previous order! Fill out form! Apply for number! Read instruction booklet! File! Report! Comply!

Many observers say that government has reached its limit when it takes 35 per cent of the people's income. I say it may reach a different limit—whatever point is reached when the people simply run out of time and patience with the paperwork that is spilled on them, day after day, like governmental excrement. If we stopped filling out forms, we could bring the government to its knees in 30 days. I get tingly all over just thinking about it. □

William F. Rickenbacker is editor of the Rickenbacker Report, *an investment advisory service, and publisher of the* Financial Book Digest.

Epigrams

From Oppressed America

Why not hijack the UN out of the country
Where they can bitch about us without our bounty?

Cave Hominem

Timon the snarling misanthrope is dead;
Cerberus, beware, lest he bite off a head.

Undergrad

Frail Lydia is studying under the beard
Of Rufio, that stiff grammarian;
All night he drills her on the copulae
And keeps her conjugating and declining.

High Court Hero

Having acquitted his ninety-second rape
They struck him off a Medal:
"Unfortunate."

—RICHARD O'CONNELL

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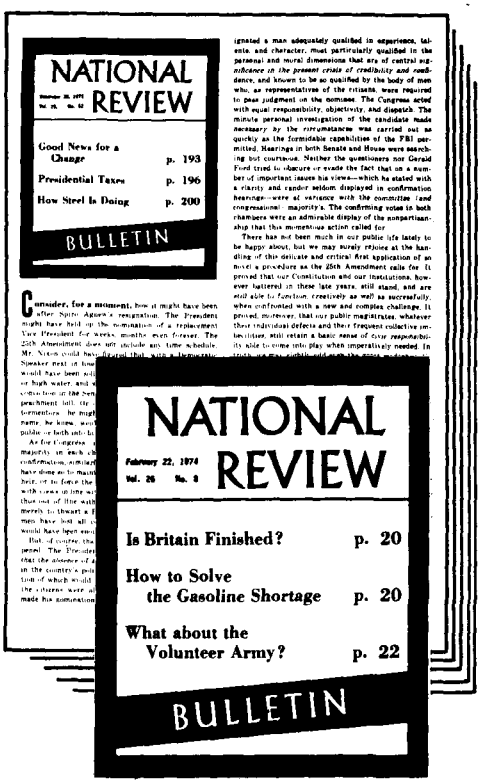
NR's sharp-witted newsletter



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Reform of Secondary Schools

As I need not convince you, friends, the urban high school in this land has fallen upon evil days. The National Commission on the Reform of Secondary Education, sponsored by the Kettering Foundation, informs us that we must take arms against this sea of troubles.

The Commission has published a report which presumably will exert real reforming influence: *The Reform of Secondary Education* (McGraw-Hill, $7.95). Very candidly outlining the failures of American secondary schooling, the Commission makes 32 recommendations for improvement—not all of them of equal weight, and some of them dubious. But in general this report is sensible and healthy. It is more or less the consensus of 20 well known people well informed about the state of the schools. Some dissents on this point or that are included—among them the highly perceptive criticisms of Mr. Martin Mayer (who really should have been engaged to draw up the report, which is not well organized or very lucidly written).

The Commission points out that most of our high schools are violent, boring, and ineffectual, as well as increasingly costly. Of the recommendations, I find especially valuable those on curricular revision, career education, alternative paths to high school completion, and compulsory attendance.

"The high schools should no longer be required to perform purely custodial functions," says the report. "Attempts to keep in school adolescents who do not wish to be there damage the environment for learning. The content of traditional high school curricula should be revised to eliminate busy-work components designed merely to occupy the time of adolescents who are in school only because the law requires it." Amen to that!

The chief alternative to the sham of "custodial" schooling (which is a major cause of violence) is "career education." By this is meant vocational training—but not training in school merely. Much such instruction should be on-the-job, the Commission recommends, and should "assure an appreciation of the dignity of work."

Along with such training run "alternative paths to high school completion." In fine, let out those high school pupils who prefer gainful work or something other than sitting bored in the classroom; forms of certification may be developed for them, different from the conventional diploma. Here the Commission might have done well to pay some attention to what is being done already in this field, chiefly in Maryland. Also the Commission rightly praises "a system of alternative schools" that will supplement, and compete with, the ordinary public high schools. There should be many different types of schooling for many different needs: "A classical Jesuit school is an alternative to the comprehensive high school just as much as Summerhill is."

The boldest proposal in this report is that nobody older than 14 years should be compelled to attend school. "Compulsory attendance laws are the dead hand on the high schools. The liberation of youth and the many freedoms which the courts have given to students within the last decade make it impossible for the school to continue as a custodial institution and also to perform effectively as a teaching institution. The harm done to the school by the student who does not want to be there is measured not only by the incidence of vandalism and assault but also by a subtle and continuous degradation of the educational enterprise." As the report points out, the truancy laws are inoperative already: "in many inner city schools average daily attendance runs less than 50 per cent of the register." Means should be found to occupy the dropouts harmlessly or profitably, but "it is by no means established that dropouts must be losers."

Rather than keep the reluctant and the defiant in the high school classroom, the Commission's members would have the state provide 14 years of free education to those citizens who desire it—this schooling to be undertaken (though not required) at any time of life. What with the Commission's friendliness toward "alternative" forms of education, presumably this would mean, among other things, that the individual could attend an independent school, college, or university should he choose—his cost being defrayed from the public purse. This provision should much diminish the crowding of college campuses by young people who are not ready for abstract advanced studies, many of them desiring action rather than contemplation.

The coming decade will be propitious. For the schools are going to cease to grow; indeed, they will shrink. We are training twice as many teachers as we need. Ten years from now, the school population should be two million fewer students than it is at present. And as little as 40 per cent of young people may graduate from comprehensive high schools, as alternatives are steadily developed.

Imagination, not money, must work these reforms, the Commission points out. The Ford Foundation now confesses that the $30 million it spent upon educational innovations during the 1960s had no "lasting or significant results." All the educationists' boondoggles have gone down the drain: team teaching, modular scheduling, nongraded schools, programed learning, individualized instruction, computer-assisted instruction, independent study, learning centers, open-plan schools, language laboratories, behavioral objectives, differentiated staffing.

So the National Commission on the Reform of Secondary Schooling says that we must stop toying with these diversions, and address ourselves to the real difficulties in the schools, honestly and qualitatively. (The Commission's members strongly urge that the teaching of foreign languages, for instance, be restored, as essential to "global education"—and they don't mean costly language labs.) The Year of Jubilee is at hand: this august Commission now subscribes to what your servant was crying unto the nation a quarter of a century ago. □

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Arts & Manners

The GIMLET EYE

D. KEITH MANO

Lib on the Rocks

The National Organization for Women at Town Hall. A Christian Science reading room would have been big enough and much cheaper. If you count two ushers, there are maybe 17 people in the oceanic orchestra section. A fast start off the blocks for this well-advertised, six program "Women for Women" series—which has the balls to charge 25 bucks ringside, about what you'd shell out for a good lightweight bout at the Garden. Yoko Ono, tonight's feature person, is a lightweight all right, but she couldn't punch her way out of a paper bikini. Later NOW will bring the house down: about a hundred women from the balcony cheap seats. They half fill 15 rows of the orchestra. And, friend, you can tell a book by its blown cover. Census: one dozen befuddled men and the rest—though NOW, America's largest lib group, has no particular gay bias—the rest are easily three-quarters rip-roaring lesbian.

Bow ties. Sailor suits. Wispy peach fuzz mustaches. One tattoo. Soup bowl butch hair cuts, shorter here than anyplace south of the West Point Chapel. And avoirdupois: this could be a Weight Watchers street mission. I think there's some glandular hookup between gay and fat. Not funny, of course: sad. Desperate hot fudge sundaes. It's hard to be a successful heterosexual when Charles Atlas would herniate himself carrying you over the threshold. Hard to be a successful lesbian for that matter. They snuggle and steal hugs in the semi-dark around me. It's disorienting to eavesdrop on a female-to-female pickup. "Hi, there. I'm Zelda. Got a match? Hey, you look like a girl I used to know. I'm working on a book. How about drinks afterward?" The same posturing nervousness, the same corny lines I used to try. It's weird and sweet. They've come not for Yoko or ISIS, the all-girl band, nor for women's solidarity: they've come to find love.

Behind me, six crew cut guerrilla fighters from the Lesbian Feminist Liberation front. One pint of Dewar's between them. LFL has just distributed an insane handout; the kind that furnishes its own self-satire. Get this: VEGETARIAN FEMINISTS. Woman: The First Great Agriculturists. Sowers of Life!! "Hear a feminist composer sing her own work on animal liberation, explain the relationship and parallel between women's consciousness-raising and animal consciousness-raising." You don't have to explain; the parallel is self-evident. A friend leans over. She has started to canvass for a Coming Out ad in the *Times*. "I'm afraid it'll be 98 per cent men. Women aren't ready to confess." No help from this cadre of the LFL; names not fit to print. They pass the shot glass.

Maxine Feldman, folk singer, leads off: Jonathan Winters in drag. Maxine would have crippled Charles Atlas *and* the threshold. A cry from the balcony, "Let's hear it for Jewish lesbians."

Maxine belts out how we all killed Marilyn Monroe. "We thought of her as tits and ass." When really, as you know, she had a PhD in geothermics. Maxine exits to her personal refrain, "No longer afraid to be the big word, letter L, Lesbian." A nice, scared lady comes on; looks like she should be walking around Scarsdale in jodhpurs. Apologizes for the first of 18 delays: "We just fell apart this afternoon." Next, an ex-president of NOW reminisces about liberating the Statue of Liberty: posters and placards smuggled in under two eight-month false pregnancies. Even the youngest radical movements have their nostalgia. And then . . . Yoko.

Now Yoko Ono is what you'd call the perfect lib emblem: a self-made woman. It only took four guys and about 80 million man-made dollars to launch her off ground zero. Whither she is fast receding. Yoko has the broad, flat face of a 1949 Packard. She wears a braless white suit to go with her Terry-Thomas gapped smile. And the voice: sounds like one of those hellish Oriental instruments, all bamboo slats and scrap metal. The five male musicians surround her stringy twang with protective noise, jittery as the safety men under a drunken wire walker. Yoko does a couple dozen deep knee bends to show she's sexy; unfortunately the microphone wire is stuck and she has as much range—in movement, in tone—as a chained macaw. The audience is disappointed. They wave Yoko's ricepaper pennants, "Hi! Women of all countries, let's fight together."

Two male volunteers from the audience, please. Yoko isn't well prepared; she has to read her own songs. Once she stops: the band has made a left turn without signaling. She giggles all the time, says "Y'new" in her Babu English butler's accent. Yoko ties blindfolds on the male volunteers. "Y'new, so they learn what it is to be helpless." For half an hour these good-natured saps triangulate, hands out, around the auditorium, getting cracked elbows and shin splints for their trouble. While Yoko sings thoughtful prose: "Woman is the nigger of the world/Yes she is—think about it." Repeat. Yoko, who has written in the *Times*, "Curse the day when I was taught to be considerate—it's so like death." She is considerate, nonetheless. She exits. It's not like death at all.

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Intermission: the one smoothly run moment we've had. Marijuana and assignations in the lobby. After record delays, NOW will present ISIS, an eight-man women's band. They're noisy; interesting. The lead guitar has herself got up like Lash LaRue, gold boots, black cowboy suit. The audience has that groupie look. On the seat edge, fingers over mouth to mute secret love words. I hear, "Oooh. The drummer is cute." Suddenly speakers begin to roar. The lead guitarist runs in circles, "Somebody do something." Two men come out; they adjust the amplifier. Behind me, the LFL girls hiss.

It isn't considered proper to say this. Yet it must be said. NOW, like many other lib groups, is not a gay organization, yet the impetus, the activist stamina in Women's Lib has been supplied preeminently by lesbians. Lesbianism has marked it. Which is why Women's Lib will remain a fringe movement in America. Playing to empty houses. □

DELECTATIONS

NIKA HAZELTON

Lapp Detente

Kirkenes, Norway—I've always been fascinated by the way things look and work, and as I came to northern Norway for a series of articles, I thought I would like to see the beginning of the Iron Curtain, and how the border between Norway and the USSR is run. No high politics or principles concern me—my interest is that of a housewife who likes to know how other people keep their house in order.

First I should mention that Norway and Russia have a common frontier of about 125 miles in a countryside of lakes, rivers, and stony mountains and hills festooned with clusters of birch trees. Above the Arctic Circle but tempered by the Gulf Stream, this land is lovely in the warm summer, when the meadows flower and the trees are green. But now I think it even more beautiful under the snow. The sun, after six weeks' absence, has returned on the horizon; the sky is a pale pinkish blue; and the frosty branches of the trees are filigree of a delicacy human hands could not produce. There is the great tangible silence of the North in the air, and the equally great luminosity of these latitudes which, once seen, take hold of you as the Sahara is said to do.

Kirkenes is a town of wooden houses not too unlike our own. It is a mining town of 5,000, a pleasant, civilized place, with a good hotel, shops, a library—much like a town in the upper Midwest where Scandinavians have settled. During the war the Germans destroyed most of it as they destroyed most of Finnmark, Norway's northernmost province. When the Russians liberated it in October 1944, they behaved correctly and charitably to the survivors, who had taken refuge in the mines during the shooting. Kirkenes is a nice place to visit, and the fishing in the lakes, rivers, and coastal fjords is super.

UP HERE the Iron Curtain is merely a short reindeer fence and a 12-yard clearing that runs along the land border; in the Pasvik River it is represented by buoys in the summer, and now, in the winter, by poles in the ice. Along the clearing there are parallel poles at regular, visible intervals. There is one border crossing, with the two nations' border guards and officials on either side, and one may cross only with proper permits and credentials. Norwegians who absentmindedly stray across (generally hunters and fishermen) get a stiff fine when they come home; we do not know what straying Russians (if any) get. Contact between the Norwegians and Russians is regulated and formal. There are some cultural and sporting exchanges, and commercial delegations who have to regulate common interests like fishing also cross the border; sometimes schoolchildren too are taken for visits. But these are rare, especially by comparison with the interchange between, say, Switzerland and her neighbors.

The local population is well disposed toward the Russians, largely because of the experience of 1944. The scene is one of idyllic quiet. There are no soldiers in sight except for an occasional border guard on patrol; you'd never know that two worlds meet here. Both sides obviously want to keep things quiet and pleasant. I had the privilege of being received by Colonel Finn Ramsaay, the Norwegian Border Commissioner who, with his Russian counterpart, is responsible for enforcing the 1949 Border Agreement. The Colonel, a wise, handsome Norwegian charmer, was kind enough to show me the offices of the Norwegian side in a yellow wooden house which sits on a hillock near the border, and to tell me about the six-page agreement he works under: it covers border violations, shipwrecks in the Pasvik River, and, amusingly, stray reindeer, which cause much of his work. The reindeer, like the people (except for Russian border officials), all live on the Norwegian side; but they are apt not to observe border regulations. Incidentally, their Lapp owners, instead of branding them, mark their ears in order to identify them. Catching the reindeer requires an expertise in which the Russians are deficient, but the Lapps are not allowed to go into Russia to bring them back. On such occasions the Norwegians call for a meeting to work matters out. The office I saw is a handsome boardroom with a dozen chairs, a table covered with green felt, and an extremely pretty and efficient iron stove; with the wintry view from the windows it is a cozy place. After the meeting, a report having been written up and signed by all concerned, the parties have a meal of national specialties, and even exchange small presents as they converse (through interpreters) about music, literature, their children. But they don't meet socially. As Colonel Ramsaay said: "The Border Commissioners are concerned about the strict adherence to the Border Agreement, the prevention of incidents, investigations if they occur, and their settlement within the dicta of the Border Agreement." The solutions they reach are final and binding on both sides.

It occurred to me that the next place south of Scandinavia where Russia meets the West, and not another Iron Curtain country, is way down in a little corner of Turkey. Just think. □

ART

RUTH BERENSON

Consummate Craftsmanship

In what has so far been a rather lackluster art season, two February openings—*The Flowering of American Folk Art* at the Whitney Museum and the long-awaited *Masterpieces of Tapestry* at the Metropolitan—are not-to-be-

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missed causes for rejoicing. In contrasting ways, each is giving Watergate-weary, gas-short New Yorkers a badly needed spiritual lift.

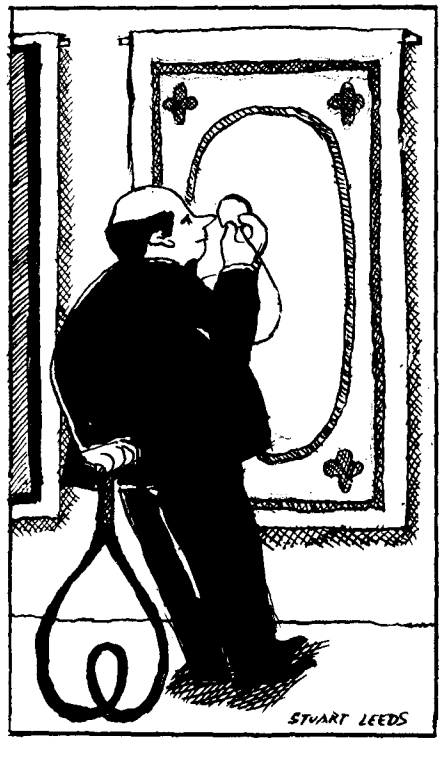
Of course it would be hard to beat the tapestries. They come to us direct from the Petit Palais in Paris, first fruits of an agreement between the Metropolitan and the National Museums of France that provides for exchanges and for the sharing of insurance costs. Assembled from museums and cathedral treasuries all over Europe, plus American collections from as far afield as Honolulu and Manchester, N.H., the tapestries constitute a once-in-a-lifetime event, and the Met's unobtrusive but beautifully lit installation, designed to bring out each tapestry's unique variations of color and texture, does full justice to them.

THESE costly hangings, dating from the middle of the fourteenth century to the first decade of the sixteenth, were made in Northern France and what is now Belgium for kings and queens, dukes, cardinals, and, toward the end of the period, rich commoners. The craftsmen, mostly anonymous, worked with surprising speed, completing one of the earliest and largest, the Angers *Apocalypse*, in only six years, 1373-79. Even in their own time, tapestries were valued as precious works of art, often serving as gifts between princes. They were also collected as capital investments: Philip the Good of Burgundy had so many that 18 men were needed to guard them, and when he displayed them in Paris to *épater* Louis XI in 1461, he had to hang one over another. Time plus the orgy of destruction that accompanied the French Revolution has made these objects extreme rarities, perhaps one reason that their study has been so neglected. Though the names of the most important weaving centers—Paris, Tournai, Arras, Bruges, Brussels—are known from documents, scholars are still not sure what styles and techniques belong to what locality, and datings are often only approximate.

The earliest example on view at the Met is a panel with 14 scenes from the Angers *Apocalypse*; the latest, four huge panels from the Cluny Museum's sumptuous *Story of David* series, was probably woven in Brussels around 1510. The first is a wholly Gothic design, derived from a medieval illumination; the last, a marvel of weaving in which threads of colored silks, silver, and gold are mingled with vegetable-dyed wools, already shows traces of the Italian Renaissance influences that would shortly overwhelm and transform art beyond the Alps. In between are the incredibly fine flower-strewn "*millefeuilles*," including the Cluny Museum's red-grounded *Lady and the Unicorn* (in reality, it depicts the five senses) and the Metropolitan's own *Hunt of the Unicorn*, an even more exquisite example on a background of dark blue. Religious, mythological, and allegorical themes were not the only subjects; there are also renderings of daily life, vivid and full of humor—hunting and falconry scenes, for instance, and winemaking and even one showing gypsies telling fortunes in front of a castle.

This marvelous exhibition makes it clear that in Northern Europe tapestries were the artistic counterpart to the great age of fresco that bloomed in Italy in precisely the same years. As a citizen of Arles wrote in 1400, after seeing the Angers *Apocalypse* displayed to celebrate a royal wedding: "There is no man who can write down or describe the value, beauty, and nobility of these cloths." Nor, I'm afraid, is there any art critic in 1974, progress notwithstanding. (The exhibition closes April 21.)

To appreciate the tapestries takes patience and time; they are at once monumental and minutely detailed. The delights of the American folk objects at the Whitney are more easily apprehended. The installation, by architect Marcel Breuer, is designed to highlight the brashness, the color, the gaiety of this art, as well as its variety in the years 1776 to 1876. American folk artists, like the tapestry designers and weavers, were mostly anonymous—but unlike them, they were, if not amateurs, self-taught craftsmen lacking a strong continuous tradition of style and workmanship; though many were born in Europe, conditions in the new country often, though not invariably, blocked out memories of their homelands. Carvers of cigar store Indians and ships' figureheads, whittlers, fractur painters, itinerant limners, farmers' wives using the long winter days to piece quilts whose designs have an Op-art precision, tinsmiths, blacksmiths, furniture makers, stencilers, sailors whiling away interminable whaling voyages incising scrimshaw for the folks back home—these were America's folk artists, and what they lacked in sophistication and European polish they made up for by their strong, bold sense of design. This was often combined with an almost cubic simplicity, a faculty for close observation, a sense of humor, and a love of gadgetry: bird decoys and whirligigs (delightful carved figures with paddle-like arms that rotate in the wind) are products of Yankee ingenuity, as is scrimshaw. These ancestors of ours were unselfconsciously proud of their country, and American motifs abound: flags, eagles, Washingtons (and numberless Mount Vernons), Lincolns, Uncle Sams, Columbias, plus every sort and condition of Indian, seen in paintings, weathervanes, cigar store figures, and dolls. These objects possess a mixture of practical genius and innocence that seems typically American.



THE country people who made these things would surely (as the tapestry makers might not) have been dumbfounded to see their handiwork enshrined in a museum. Yet *The Flowering of American Folk Art* is a fitting tribute from a later generation to those Americans who with horse power, elbow grease, and guts wrested a new nation from a wilderness. (At the Whitney to March 24; Virginia Museum of Art, Richmond, April 22-June 2; De Young Museum, San Francisco, June 24-September 15.) □

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BOOKS

Tome without Tang

At the End of the Day: 1961-1963
By Harold Macmillan
Harper, 572 pp., $16.50

FERDINAND MOUNT

First, consider an old man, brave in war, cunning in peace, learned, witty, and tough, a good Prime Minister of Britain, almost a great one. Then, if you have the time, read the six volumes of the Macmillan memoirs, each about 500 pages, turgid, rambling, evasive, bespattered with clichés and half truths, and enlivened only by the occasional flash of irony—and you may wonder how the one could be the author of the other. The most charitable conclusion is that *At the End of the Day*, like its five predecessors, is a fake manufactured by the KGB to discredit Western leaders. But we must shun this tempting hypothesis in favor of the probability that Mr. Macmillan like so many statesmen has tried to build himself a monument and has only succeeded in hewing his own tomb. Unfortunately, the political memoirist can claim neither the diarist's tang of reality nor the historian's breadth; he can only embalm his self-image.

The final years of Macmillan's premiership, however, do their best to resist the embalmer's art, for the record is less than glorious. He himself remarked at the time in a diary parenthesis: "We have had a run of bad luck. Once this starts, everything seems to go wrong. Really, everything that would have been passed over as a minor contretemps when things are good is elevated into a major crisis when things are bad." True, but in the majority of cases things were bad in the first place only because the policies followed were unsound. This was so in Central Africa, in South Arabia, in the Congo, and, far more importantly, in the management of the economy and in Britain's application to join the Common Market. Mr. Macmillan's searing experience of deflation and unemployment in the 1930s rendered him incapable of fully understanding either the causes or the dangers of inflation. And, despite or perhaps because of his long wartime dealings with de Gaulle, he also failed to grasp that de Gaulle's suspicion of "the Anglo-Saxons" was based on something more than pique.

Macmillan was never as enthusiastic or as early a convert to the cause of a united Western Europe as he claims, and unwittingly he gives the game away more than once. At heart he was always an Atlantic man. For example, in telling the story of the maneuvers leading up to the negotiations between Britain and the six nations of the EEC, he gives pride of place to President Kennedy's sympathy for the enterprise. His affection for the young President, though moving in its intensity, was in the last analysis damaging to the interests of Britain and European unity. Reluctantly, one has to conclude that Mr. Macmillan wasted too much time and energy in trying to maintain an Anglo-American "special relationship," which corresponded neither to existing realities nor to the most rational hopes for the future.

Yet brooding over this melancholy story of wild-goose chases abroad and consequent neglect of domestic problems is a simple human theme, alternately denied and minimized by its protagonist. Throughout the period covered by this book, Macmillan was a tired and sick man. His timing was slower, his political senses blunted. Ten years earlier, for example, he would have disposed of the Profumo scandal in a couple of days, as Mr. Heath disposed of the Lambton-Jellicoe affair last summer. To friends and enemies alike the government gave the impression of having lost its former energy and self-confidence. The manner in which the Prime Minister sacked half his senior colleagues seemed not so much an infusion of new blood as a symptom of panic. It wasn't the lieutenants who were the problem, it was the commander in chief. President Nixon's dismissal of Mr. Richardson and Professor Cox reminded British observers strongly of "Mac the Knife," as the cartoonists dubbed him after the purge. In that sense Mr. Macmillan had never lacked steel. In his treatment of his closest rival, R. A. Butler, the creator of the modern Tory party, it cannot be denied that he has kept up an unremitting brutality over 20 years; Lord Butler's only revenge was to write in a single moderately sized volume of memoirs, *The Art of the Possible*, a distinguished work which will far outlast Macmillan's six monsters.

In this winter of political discontent on both sides of the Atlantic, there is hankering for the gifts of political style and sensitivity which typified Harold Macmillan no less than John F. Kennedy. Macmillan's true monument remains the somnolent content of his age rather than the somniferous contents of

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his memoirs. The fact that this atmosphere, like that of the Kennedy era, was more the creation of style than of substantial achievement does not mean that it was unreal; for, hidden in today's bleak jargon of "communication" and "dialogue," lies that timeless art of reconciliation of which Harold Macmillan was such a master, from every droop of his eyelid to every endearing egg stain on his waistcoat. □

Aneurin Bevan, A Biography, 1945-1960
By Michael Foot
Atheneum, 692 pp., $13.95

ANOTHER WELSH WARRIOR

CARL A. KEYSER

In the seventh century the Britons were defeated by the Saxons at the Battle of Cattraeth. The event lives in the epic *Gododdin*, written by a Welsh bard and warrior priest who was captured by the Saxons. His name was Aneurin. It is fitting that Nye Bevan bears the same name, for in his own way he too was a warrior and poet and the high priest of British Marxist socialism in the years following the Second War. Like the other great Welsh politician of this century, David Lloyd George, Bevan was a rebel. But he was a less successful one, for he didn't quite wreck the Labor Party as Lloyd George did the Liberal Party, and he never became Britain's prime minister.

Nye Bevan should not be confused with Ernest Bevin, the trade union leader who served in Churchill's war coalition cabinet. Ernest Bevin was more of a George Meany type, working the right wing of the Labor Party and often engaged in battle with Bevan, whose "feet were planted in Moscow." Bevan was an articulate far left politician and not a union leader. When the Labor Party vanquished Churchill in 1945, Bevan entered Attlee's cabinet and served as Minister of Health and Housing. Bevan was the 1948 midwife at the birth of the National Health Service, better known as socialized medicine. The NHS is distinguished by the longest pregnancy known to medicine: its term was 35 years and it was in labor for most of the time.

Great Britain's lot, like that of the policeman, is not a happy one, as the people can testify who have recently waited for trains that didn't run to take them to cold homes they couldn't heat from factories that didn't operate. How Britain got that way is inadvertently revealed by Michael Foot. And there are lessons to be learned once again by conservatives who will take the time to wade through this very long book. They should keep in mind, when the water gets murky and deep, that Mr. Foot writes for the *Tribune*, a British newspaper which occupies a position somewhere between the *New York Times* and the *Daily World*, both of which are better known for consistency of viewpoint than for objectivity. Mr. Foot would be right at home with Herbert Matthews.

It was in 1913 that Lloyd George bestowed National Health Insurance on Britain, and it was Lloyd George who led the Liberal Party in retreat from its nineteenth century liberal tradition. All through the 1920s and 1930s there were various proposals to expand the state's role in medicine. And then in 1942-1943 an MP of the by then almost extinct Liberal Party came forth with the famous Beveridge Report, which recommended an extension of the welfare state, including a National Health Service. Soon thereafter Henry Willink, a Conservative MP, took up the cry, not to be outbid by Labor and the Liberals, and what started as a strategic retreat became a rout. First the Liberals, and then the Conservatives, by conceding that the state had an obligation to do *something* put themselves in the difficult position of trying to deny that the state should do *everything*. If there is a lesson to be learned here, it is the danger of toying with negative income taxes.

Bevan's socialism, according to Foot, was rooted in Marxism, and he believed "that democratic processes and democratic vigor, intrepidly unleashed, could accomplish revolutionary ends." Most Americans have faith in the ultimate rightness of the majority view, but they should never forget that majority rule is safe only as long as the majority first decides to limit what it will rule upon in the future. This is a premise of our Constitution. Amendments, approved by a majority, and interpretations, approved by a minority, have brought our guarantees to a low level of potency. Herbert Spencer touched on the problem in the nineteenth century when he wrote that while the political superstition of the past was the divine right of kings, the political superstition of the present was the divine right of parliaments. In a final speech on the National Health Act before it became operative, Bevan said, "It must be clear to everybody that if there is one thing we must assert, it is the sovereignty of Parliament over any section of the Community." It seems that the majority, as well as the king, can do no wrong. □

The Responsive Chord
By Tony Schwartz
Anchor, 173 pp., $6.95

McLUHANISM MADE SIMPLE

PRISCILLA L. BUCKLEY

I'd better come clean. Tony Schwartz was the fellow behind the little girl and the daisy commercial in the Goldwater-Johnson campaign. It may surprise you, ten years later, to learn that the spot was used only once, that Goldwater's name was never mentioned, that the message was not, as you've probably remembered, "whose finger do you want on the nuclear trigger?" Mr. Schwartz points out that if the same spot were used today no one would connect it, nuclear cataclysm, and Barry Goldwater.

When properly used, Mr. Schwartz writes in his fascinating and provocative

Ferdinand Mount, *on leave from the London* Daily Mail, *is the author of* The Theatre of Politics *and other books. . . .* **Carl A. Keyser**, *a former professor of engineering, is author of* Spare None: The Federal Octopus. . . . **Patricia S. Coyne**, *a frequent contributor, is at work on a novel. . . .* **David Brudnoy** *reviews films for* NR, Boston Magazine, *and other journals, and is becoming a celebrity on Boston television. . . .* **John Murray Cuddihy** *is the author of* The Ordeal of Civility: Freud, Marx, Levi-Strauss and the Jewish Struggle with Modernity, *due in July from Basic Books. . . . Book reviews are indexed in* Book Review Index.

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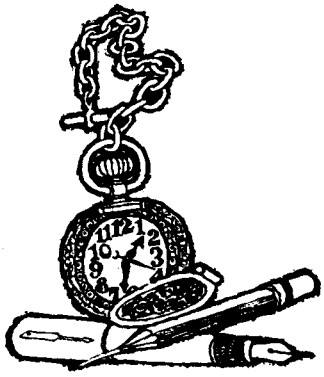
The Responsive Chord, radio and television do not tell all, but just enough to strike a responsive chord in the stored bank of knowledge that every viewer/listener brings to his TV/radio set. The audience back then, in '64, jumped to the conclusion it jumped to because Goldwater was being attacked as a cold warrior. The people overresponded to the suggestion of a Goldwater-triggered nuclear holocaust, and the spot was killed lest it backfire.

Tony Schwartz, who has collaborated with Joe Napolitan on a number of political campaigns, was a ham radio operator as a boy and had a program of his own on New York's station WNYC for 25 years. This, his first book, starts with a quick and readable rundown of the quantum jump in communication techniques brought about by radio and television. For 500 years, from the printing of the Gutenberg Bible on, the written word was *the* means of communication: every child in the Western world learned to read from left to right, from top to bottom. This was how information was exchanged, knowledge imparted, business conducted. Then new auditory, and later new auditory and visual elements were added to the communication equation, equal in value—some say superior in value—to the printed word. And McLuhanism was born.



THERE'S something in this book for everyone: for the campaign media expert, instruction on how best to project his candidate; for the merchandiser, advice on how best to sell his cabbages; for the sociologist, an unexpected aperçu into the murder of Kitty Genovese. But perhaps most interesting for the general reader will be Mr. Schwartz's discussion of education in the Age of the Tube. You may disagree with his conclusions, but his analysis of why children can't be taught today the way they have been taught for 500 years—why it won't work and isn't working—was convincing, at least to this reader.

"If Booth Tarkington were to write *Seventeen* today," says Mr. Schwartz, "he would have to call it *8½*." A child growing up a hundred years ago knew only the things around him, the things he could see, feel, hear, and smell. He had to be shown a picture of a kangaroo, and told that it hopped around on its hind legs. But today's four-year-old has seen men walk on the moon, watched Jacques Cousteau's underwater world, explored the Amazon, witnessed men killed on his TV set. He's been brought up in a world of scientific wonders and sophisticated technology (which is why, incidentally, the TV weather at 7:00, which children watch, is more technical than the weather at 11:00, when the older dodos tune in).

IN THE past the teacher implanted knowledge into the mind of the child, item by item. Now, says Mr. Schwartz, the teacher's task is to sort out the information already stored in the child's mind, to reorder it, and impose on the child an abstract view of the world that is less interesting to him than the world he knows. A child who last night watched Olympic games bounced from Munich to an orbiting satellite, to a local transmitter, and from it to his 21 inch super color television set, is this morning asked to write his letters, to isolate one sense from another, to concentrate on putting one (to him) meaningless symbol after another on a sheet of paper, as Ted Carpenter so aptly describes it "to fragment his senses, to turn on one at a time and keep the others in neutral." When this was the only way in which a child could gain access to a world transcending the kitchen, nursery, and classroom, though the road was arduous, yet would the child, glimpsing the treasures ahead, travel it. But today's child, says Mr. Schwartz, has seen it already in living, moving color.

Today's child is a scanner. "His experience with electronic media has taught him to scan life the way his eyes scan a television set or his ears scan auditory signals from a radio or stereo speaker." This granted, Mr. Schwartz argues that the teacher should make use of what the child has seen or heard before on TV as "a reading readiness tool." He calls for the imaginative use of film, TV, stereos in the classroom by teachers who understand how these auxiliary tools should be used in order to involve and interest the child in the formal disciplines.

Education is just one of dozens of subjects Tony Schwartz discusses in this short yet wide-ranging book. I found some of the illustrative matter—photographs, drawings, typographical embellishments, inserted quoted matter—distracting at times, and there are a handful of passages inscrutable to the layman when Mr. Schwartz falls into the jargon of the trade. But on the whole it is an illuminating and imaginative piece of work. And there's a piquancy in that when Mr. Schwartz sought to communicate his insights on the audiovisual field to the rest of us he put it all down, one symbol at a time, on the printed page. □

So Short a Time
By Barbara Gelb
Norton, 304 pp., $7.95

BURN THOSE LETTERS

PATRICIA S. COYNE

"'Ya viene!' 'Here he comes!' 'Viva Villa!' 'Villa, the friend of the poor!'

"The roar began at the back of the crowd and swept like fire in a growing crescendo until it seemed to toss thousands of hats above their heads. The band in the courtyard struck up the Mexican national air, and Villa came walking down the street.

"He was dressed in an old plain khaki uniform, with several buttons lacking. He hadn't recently shaved, wore no hat, and his hair had not been brushed. He walked a little pigeon-toed, humped over, with his hands in his trouser pockets . . . he seemed slightly embarrassed. . . ."

A typical passage taken from a newspaper piece written in 1913 by a 26-year-old American journalist named John Reed. And even today his prose is lucid and strangely contemporary, much of it anticipating the color and immediacy of our New Journalism.

Reed was a writer-adventurer, a Byronic figure who ran to battles and wrote copy to the buzz of bullets. He was an ardent worker for the socialist movement, a cause that sapped his health and his output. Yet even in bad health he displayed an utter disregard for his own skin, and when the Revo-

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RANDOM NOTES

■ JUST OUT: Belloc biographer Robert Speaight now limns murky French Catholic thinker-polemicist *Georges Bernanos* for Liveright ($8.95). . . . Harvard political scientist James Q. Wilson's *Political Organizations* will get noticed by reviewers (Basic, $10.95). . . . David Footman tracks down the nineteenth century Russian terrorists who hatched *The Alexander Conspiracy* and murdered the Czar (Open Court, $8.95). . . . *Robert Frost: A Pictorial Chronicle* was put together by his secretary-manager, Kathleen Morrison (Holt, $10). . . . Back in print: Churchill's *Great Contemporaries*, a collection of vignettes (Chicago, $7.95). . . . A novel, no less, from Salvador Dali: *Hidden Faces* (Morrow, $7.95). . . . John Jacob Beck's *MacArthur and Wainwright: Sacrifice of the Philippines* has a foreword by Clare Boothe Luce (New Mexico, $10). . . . A huge *Life of Captain James Cook* by J. C. Beaglehole (Stanford, $18.50).

Howard Rutledge, seven years a POW in Vietnam, and wife Phyllis tell of the ordeal in *In the Presence of Mine Enemies* (Revell, $4.95). The same house issues the memoir of a Soviet agent who defected, then converted to Christianity: *The Persecutor* by Sergei Kourdakov ($5.95). . . . Presbyterian minister Robert M. Healey pens *The French Achievement: Private School Aid, a Lesson for America* for the Catholic Paulist Press ($5.95; paperback, $3.95). . . . Martin Fido's *Oscar Wilde* is illustrated (Viking, $12.95). . . . Ray Vicker, *Wall Street Journal* man in Europe, takes a quickie jaunt through *The Kingdom of Oil* (Scribner's, $7.95). . . . Howard Mumford Jones weighs in—yes, that's the phrase—with *Revolution and Romanticism* (Harvard, $15).

■ STATISTICS. Paper shortage? New books and reprints published last year rose 2,000 to the most ever, 40,000. Paperbacks fell below 10,000, off 9 per cent for the year. Average prices, *mirabile dictu*, actually dropped for hardbound books (from $12.99 to $12.20) and for quality paperbacks (from $4.24 to $3.73). Average price of mass-market paperbacks rose a nickel, to $1.17.

■ SPORTS BOOKS. *The Encyclopedia of Tennis* is edited by Max Robertson, and big (Viking, July, $22.50). . . . John Mosedale nominates the '27 Yanks as *The Greatest of All* (Dial, out, $7.95). . . . Tom Seaver ruminates on *How I Would Pitch to Babe Ruth* (Playboy, $7.95). . . . This one could pay for itself: *Guide to Sports Betting* by Kelson Sturgeon and those wonderful folks at *Sports Action*, the tip sheet (Harper, June, $8.95). . . . *Strawberries in the Wintertime* is a big collection of Red Smith columns (Quadrangle, May, $8.95).

lution began he smuggled himself into Russia, made the front lines, and wrote *Ten Days That Shook the World*, a book that is still must reading for any romantic young would-be revolutionary.

So Short a Time covers the less significant part of Reed's career, however. The subject is not revolution but his relationship with his wife, Louise Bryant. When they first met, she was a pretty, vivacious housewife, with vague artistic pretensions and a boring husband. Within weeks Louise and Reed were living together in the Village, organizing rallies, demonstrating, going to jail, and, in general, living the good old Old Left bohemian life. There was a flaw, however. Although Louise seemed to be willing to endure any hardship for Reed's sake—she eagerly traveled alone through war-torn Russia, for instance, to be by his side—whenever he was gone, and sometimes when he wasn't, she would dally with other men, notably Eugene O'Neill, her husband's friend. Thus her end seems designed to satisfy the most Victorian of sensibilities. She died, appropriately, in Paris at 46, a dissolute, drunken drug addict.

But Reed himself, rather than melodrama, is the justification for this book's existence, and unfortunately the book gains strength only through the quotations from his own work. Yet even those are disappointing, for Barbara Gelb quotes lightly from his journalism (superb) but heavily from his love letters (wretched).

"But I've got a big aching void which just fits my honey," runs a typical passage.

AND Louise, after a successful lecture tour, writes, "How many great rough paws have engulfed my 'bird's fingers' (as my honey calls them)."

Reed replies. "I am so proud and pleased that my honey is getting a fine reception. Why shouldn't she? She is a good small . . . If you want any cash, just wire your Big."

And so on, through pages of even more embarrassing drivel.

Reed died in Russia from typhus at 33. He had lived to see the outcome of the Revolution and was deeply disillusioned, believing at the end that he had squandered his considerable talent and energy on an empty cause. The story of his life suggests that a writer should pick his causes (if he must have them) very carefully, and then leave plenty of bridges back. And an even more profound moral: if there is any chance at all of a biography, burn all love letters. □

His Picture in the Papers: A Speculation on Celebrity in America, Based on the Life of Douglas Fairbanks Sr.
By Richard Schickel
Charterhouse, 171 pp., $5.95

CELEBRITYHOOD

DAVID BRUDNOY

Celebrityhood, in Daniel Boorstin's apt phrase, is "becoming known for your well-knownness." In his well-remembered little book, *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America*, Mr. Boorstin contrasted heroes and celebrities, a differentiation nicely elaborated here by *Time* film critic Schickel. With Fairbanks and others in that notable first generation of film stars, the public ceased to insist on a direct correlation between achievements and fame. "Beginning with the rise of the star system in Hollywood it was possible to achieve 'celebrity' through attainments in the realms of play."

Not that Douglas Fairbanks feigned his derring-do. Quite the contrary. He was extraordinarily agile, highly intelligent, a shrewd judge for many years (until he unwisely resisted the talkies) of what the public demanded. He gave it to them, he attended to their sensibilities (as in the carefully orchestrated moves leading to his and Mary Pickford's divorces and subsequent marriage to each other), he functioned creatively in the output of United Artists with his partners Chaplin and Pickford, he was a gentleman who practiced his infidelities on the sly, rather than in the obnoxious arena of Hollywood extravagance. He had that nearly lost attribute of our time (we now make do with Elliott Gould), *style*—and taste as well.

Richard Schickel here uses Fairbanks' career as a foundation on which

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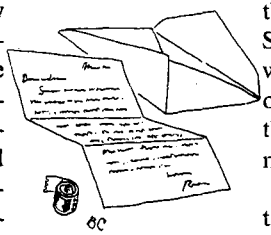
he constructs a finely honed essay concerning the nature of this particular sort of fame, in which the celebrity remains constantly ambivalent toward his public, "alternately courting it and despising it, and, of course, seeking—usually fruitlessly—friends, employees, systems to stabilize his relationship with it and thus stabilize his emotions." The celebrity is of worth only to the extent that the crowds deem him so to be. And when, "perhaps having loved not wisely but well, the public compensates . . . it turns away from an idol, by doing so too emphatically, too cruelly. Perhaps—as seems possible in the case of Fairbanks—something in the celebrity himself unconsciously conspires with the audience to encourage a punishing denouement for his life drama, a redress for the inexplicable and unearned good fortune he has previously enjoyed." For Fairbanks, Youth *had* to be eternal. But it wasn't, and isn't. The once perfect physique sags, Nature steals hair faster than she replaces it, the cheeks grow jowly: the swashbuckler in his late fifties, divorced (tidily but reluctantly) from Pickford and married (messily) to Lady Ashley, dies, not forgotten, but passed by. Curtain—at last, on an overlong play.



We are confronted these days by the vulgarity of Norman Mailer on *Marilyn*, by the constant effluvia of Hollywood reminiscences too tawdry to be enjoyed except perversely, voyeuristically, and by film criticism's either taking film too lightly or else raising it with monumental silliness to the Highest Art. One comes surprised and delighted to the grace and common sense of Mr. Schickel's pages. His frequent but judicious asides comparing politics to cinema celebrity quicken our comprehension of both spheres, and his delicious (to use a word he overuses) animadversions on a variety of filmdom's honchos are similarly revealing, both of Schickel's high but not (John) Simon-pure standards and of the instructive juxtaposition of the ghosts of Hollywood past to the too real caricatures of Hollywood and Politics present. He grinds his political axes, sure, but, used only occasionally, they cut precisely. This is a modest-seeming but well-reasoned, elegantly fashioned excursion into the nature of celebrity. □

Real Lace: America's Irish Rich
By Stephen Birmingham
Harper, 322 pp., $10

REAL ROT ABOUT THE IRISH

JOHN MURRAY CUDDIHY

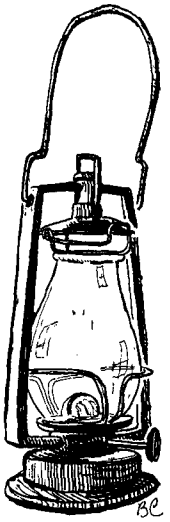
Brady, Bradley, Murray, McDonnell, Cuddihy, Kennedy, Buckley, Ryan, Butler, Doheny, Flood, O'Brien, McLean, Grace, Quinn, Mackay—the gang's all here. I will stick to some I know.

Unlike the patrician Jews of *Our Crowd* who were "the closest thing to Aristocracy—Aristocracy in the best sense—that the city, and perhaps the country, had seen" and to whom money was "secondary," to the Irish of Birmingham's *Real Lace: America's Irish Rich* money is just about everything. In the good old *nouveaux riches* days in Southampton, for example, the women would cover their arms with "dozens of bracelets" just to go outside, lest they "feel naked." (Irish chastity knows no limits.)

Religion? When these rich peasant-types "clutch at their rosary beads," it is a magical rite to prevent their money going up in smoke. Birmingham reveals, on unimpeachable if anonymous authority, little-known details about the religious upbringing of the children of the First Irish Families (FIFs). They were taught: "If a girl did not bathe every day and wash her hands, she would get leprosy. First her fingers would rot, then her toes, then her nose. One by one, the parts of your body turned yellow, smelled horribly, and then dropped off." Boys got off easier: "If a boy cursed and used profanity, he would get cancer of the tongue. If he repented, his last words before his tongue was cut out would be 'Jesus, Mary, Joseph.'" What befell the *unrepentant* FIF boy Birmingham leaves to our imagination.

Birmingham's special interest in my grandfather, an inventor named Thomas E. Murray, and more particularly in "the Murray brand of Catholicism [which] was all hellfire and damnation" carries him finally to the Murray house. "Whenever one of his children had a date with a non-Catholic, that young person was required to wait for his escort in a special anteroom, kept just for Protestants, at 783 St. Marks." (Murray "felt comfortable living on a street named after a saint.") But our social historian neglects the serious religious intent behind this tiny anteroom. Out of his inventive genius, Grandpa Murray had devised a dripolator apparatus and attached it to the ceiling. Unbeknownst to the Protestant suitor seated beneath, droplets of holy water would imperceptibly drip-drop-drip down upon his head. Baptism accomplished, a circuit contraption—another early Murray patent—triggered an upstairs light, and the relevant Murray girl would descend to her date.

Two stories Birmingham relates about my late father do not do him justice. He writes: "The H. Lester Cuddihys, scheduled to travel to Europe on a North German Lloyd liner, discovered on their day of departure that labor trouble at the pier would mean that they would not be permitted to board ship. Mr. Cuddihy drew himself up and announced to the passenger agent, 'I am Mr. North German Lloyd.' The party was ushered aboard." This anecdote is offered in illustration of the conviction, imputed to my father, that "the grand manner . . . got one wherever one wanted to go." But Birmingham has garbled his chronology here. By the time of this incident, my father had already tried and given up the grand manner, which had got him precisely nowhere. By now—money having finally gone to his head—he had taken to impersonating his betters, one of whom was, indeed, Mr. North German Lloyd.



The other story tells how my father while going through the receiving line at a reception for Cardinal Spellman bit the late Cardinal's finger. But this bite was not, as Birmingham interprets it, an expression of his supposedly "ambivalent" feelings toward the Catholic church. The simple truth is, alas, more clinical. Late in life my father would occasionally succumb to uncontrollable fits of vampirism. One such

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took hold at the Spellman reception. Initially my father was going, as was his wont, straight for the jugular, but the act aborted and, genuflecting to kiss the archiepiscopal ring, he bit instead the Cardinal's finger.

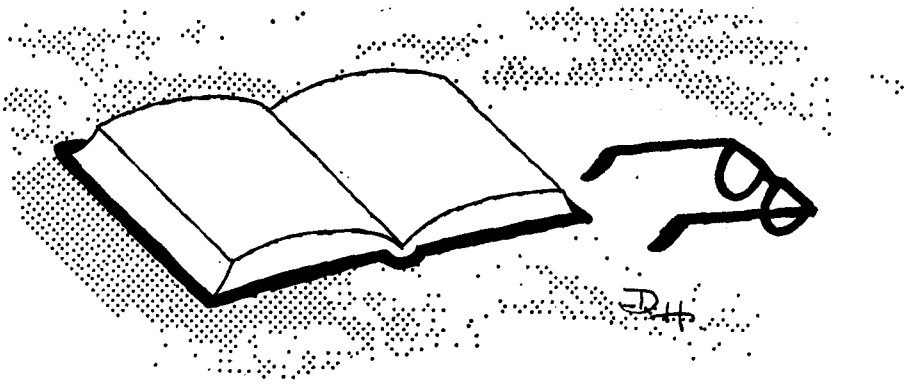
Basta! The point is made. Incident and anecdote are wrenched out of context, yielding the usual Birmingham mix of history and pseudohistory, gossip and pseudogossip, tall and taller tales. A mindless, motiveless, demented snobbery runs amuck through the book. Characters are set up solely to snob others, who are snobbed in turn by others who are themselves being snobbed—this round robin of snobbery is Birmingham's version of Hobbes's *bellum omnium contra omnes* (check the closing sentences of his chapters).

Snobbery, however, is not a gimmick but a *sui generis* mode of social perception, indentured to the perceived reality of ranked social differences. The social relationships established by this mode of perception ("the most purely social of relationships"—van den Haag) become falsified when the differences upon which they turn are fictions of their chronicler.

Birmingham: novelist *manqué*, historian *manqué*, sociologist *manqué*. Nothing comes through undecorated, as it is, as it was, as it were. This Birminghamian *manqué* business in the end processes everything. What doesn't come out Real Trash winds up Puccis and Cream. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

WHAT WENT WRONG WITH AMERICAN EDUCATION AND HOW TO MAKE IT RIGHT, *by Peter Witonski (Arlington, 191 pp., $6.95).* THE DEATH OF THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY: *With Special Reference to the Collapse of City College of New York, by L. G. Heller (Arlington, 215 pp., $7.95).* Two worthy books, one message: New Leftists devastated the university because they met with vacillation, cowardice, and a lack of academic principle. Thus, the university's future is bleak. Witonski is a hardliner on classical education, who castigates progressivism, vocationalism, politicization, egalitarianism, mass education, and lowering of standards. His best chapter presents student opinionaires documenting the leftward drift of students. Little else is new, though much is refreshing, if scattershot. Three caveats. Radical leaders are not all hooligans and ignoramuses, as Keniston and others have shown. Alarmism over "deviant hair styles" and other ephemera mars the book. A conservative critique of universities should aim at something more realistic than promoting the study of Greek and Latin. Heller's book is a *cri de cœur* of an embattled but dignified professor. He blames open admissions for causing his beloved CCNY's spectacular decline and argues beautifully against faculty quotas. The decimated and confused New Left must wish it was the successful conspiracy he imagines it is. Both authors interpret pessimistically the 1969-70 campus uprisings. But the ensuing calm constitutes a prima facie case against apocalyptic doom. EDWARD E. ERICSON JR.



UNCONQUERED SOULS, *by C. L. Sulzberger (The Overlook Press, 219 pp., $7.95).* The "Resistentialist" is the person "who loses most and gains least in vast conflicts and who is, if ever remembered, soonest forgotten. . . ." Sulzberger remembers. His subjects are three gallant, albeit obscure, individuals who, while unable to order their fate, were doggedly determined to survive it. An Austrian artist, a French film editor, and a Yugoslavian Communist endured the maelstrom of World War II only to be tormented in peace. The Austrian was vilified by Fascists in Spain; the Frenchman stood condemned as a collaborator by the government for whom he endured the Gestapo's brutality; the Communist faced ostracism for defending his philosophical principles against Tito's state. Sulzberger believes that these men convey a timeless wisdom: self-conquest is infinitely more important than world-conquest. A. MILLER

MARLBOROUGH AS MILITARY COMMANDER, *by David Chandler (Scribner's, 368 pp., illus., $14.95).* If for no other reason, "The Great Duke of Marlborough" ought to be remembered as the only successful enemy general ever to work his way into a French folk song. In addition he possessed a rare blend of common sense and broad vision that allowed him to lead a squabbling coalition of European powers to victory over, or at least to "containment" of, the continent's first modern superpower, France. In his private character was a curious mix of the sublime and the seamy—of compassion for human suffering and notorious stinginess, of arrant opportunism and deep-dyed patriotism—it was the the sublime that won in the end, and has now been thoroughly and intelligently chronicled by British military historian David (*Campaigns of Napoleon*) Chandler, Deputy Head of the Department of War Studies at Sandhurst. The Duke of Wellington once remarked that he could think of no finer spectacle than Marlborough at the head of an English Army. David Chandler agrees and puts forth a plausible case for Marlborough as the greatest of English captains. While he does not develop the point, he might also have claimed credit for Marlborough as the prime inspiration for a certain pudgy, lisping momma's boy who, modeling himself on his illustrious ancestor, grew up to become "The Lion's Roar" in England's most desperate hour. The younger son of a younger son of a later Duke of Marlborough, Winston Churchill even based some of his own imposing funeral arrangements (which, ever with an eye to history, he painstakingly charted out in advance) on the ceremonies that marked the passing of "The Great Duke" in 1722. Good maps, good illustrations, and an excellent text.

ARAM BAKSHIAN JR

WILL AMERICA SURRENDER?, *by Slobodan M. Draskovich (Devin-Adair, 451 pp., $9.95).* This critique of America's response to Communist global political warfare exposes the consequences of the view that avoiding nuclear war is the chief concern proper to policy. Further, it reveals the ideological premise of this nuclearitis: "In World War II, there was not the slightest ambiguity about the military enemy, Nazi Germany and Japan, about the aim, unconditional victory. . . ." After Hitler this all changed. New Left cold war interpretations notwithstanding, the hawks gradually became doves. Despite the steady decline of Western strength since 1945, a firm United States policy of self-assertion can, Draskovich asserts, turn the tide in our favor and without real danger of nuclear war. Such a policy presupposes recognition that we are engaged in a real war. General Thomas Lane does not exaggerate when he writes in his foreword that this book "is a course in international relations far superior to the texts used in our colleges." M. CONNORS

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TAUSCH

(Continued from page 318)

Army officers with advanced degrees. Civilian instructors and the Reserve officers commissioned directly from university graduate schools show little love or understanding of military traditions, and they tend to set the fashion for the professional officers. Although this is not true of the tactical, engineering, or science departments, the several humanities departments rival the student lounges of Harvard for vocal, if not activist, radicalism. Every speech or directive from the Army or the Administration is an occasion for derisive commentary both in and out of class. The textbooks are usually politically radical in outlook—the better (as one instructor put it) to shake the cadets out of their middle class attitudes and prevent "militarism." Contrary to popular belief, academic freedom has always been carefully observed at West Point; whatever conformity there is in the humanities courses is enforced by the mass of liberal instructors. The cadets occasionally have difficulty reconciling the all-pervading relativism they are being taught with the West Point motto of "Duty, Honor, Country."

The attempts of many of the younger, liberal instructors to instill in the cadets a professional commitment to political and social controversy is especially unfortunate. It is precisely this tendency that has permeated the military establishments of some emerging nations and resulted in coups and military despotism. The West Point courses on revolutionary warfare (no longer called "counterinsurgency operations"), though usually taught by professional officers, concentrate heavily on "land reform" and "eliminating poverty and oppression."

News reports of "dissension" among the cadets are usually based on rather trivial controversies. The unsuccessful lawsuit against required chapel attendance, cadet demands for the "right of counsel" in disciplinary matters, and complaints against haircuts failed to "polarize" anyone, but by debating in court the value of its policies the Academy unwittingly surrendered its right to make and enforce the contract implied by enrollment. Because of outside pressure, Plebe (underclass) Training was softened, against the wishes of many of the cadets.

In the midst of the changes and controversies, trivial and significant, stands the Superintendent of the Academy,

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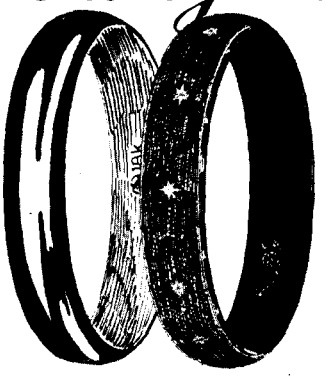

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Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

STANLEY [J.] MODIC:
No Need For Gloom.

"On the one hand, this could happen. But, on the other hand, thus and so could happen." It was this kind of economic advice, so the story goes, that caused President Truman to cry out in dismay, "What I wouldn't give for a one-armed economist!"

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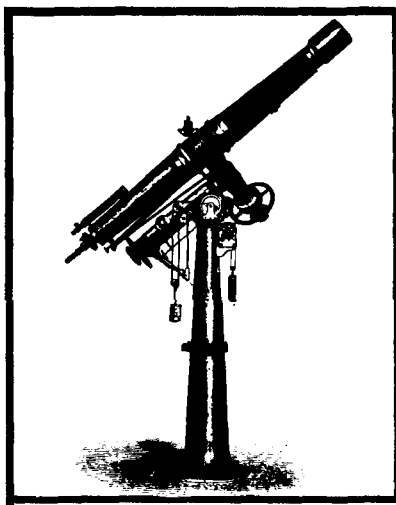
Lieutenant General William Knowlton. General Knowlton arrived during the era of campus unrest. He is not one of the current breed of political generals (such as Westmoreland), but a traditional soldier, committed to resisting academic and military deterioration at West Point. Like MacArthur after World War I, General Knowlton has been forced to defend the continued necessity and value of the Academy: he has properly addressed himself to the most serious issue—West Point's "relevance" as an institution.

The major bete noire of the media has been the elitist mystique of the Academy. Reservists have conjured up a sinister "West Point Protective Association" (WPPA), and civilians have discovered a Power Fraternity. It is true that on the average West Pointers go farther in the Army—just as Harvard men go farther in the academic world. If West Pointers were *not* of sufficient quality to be rewarded by greater responsibilities, then the Academy should indeed be abolished.

General Knowlton has been accused of attempting futilely to maintain a "Fortress West Point" separate from civilian customs, mores, and current thinking. His frequent (and often brilliant) talks to the officers and to civilians have consistently stressed that West Point was not established to reinforce current fads among the youth or sway with every political breeze. To some extent the cadets must be divorced from the outside environment and encouraged to identify with the military virtues, especially in an age of permissiveness. Under Knowlton, professional officers are replacing many of the departing liberal instructors, and professional pride might be coming back into vogue. But the Academy is still on the defensive, and the Superintendent has made many enemies.

So far West Point has produced no confused or weak-principled Calleys to disgrace it; this is a result of high academic standards, military discipline, and traditions. General Knowlton quotes the observation by C. S. Lewis about the modern world: "In a sort of ghastly simplicity we remove the organ and demand the function. We make men without chests and expect of them virtue and enterprise. We laugh at honor and are shocked to find traitors in our midst. We castrate and bid the geldings be fruitful." It is the duty of the Superintendent, the Congress, and the American people to see that this does not happen at West Point □



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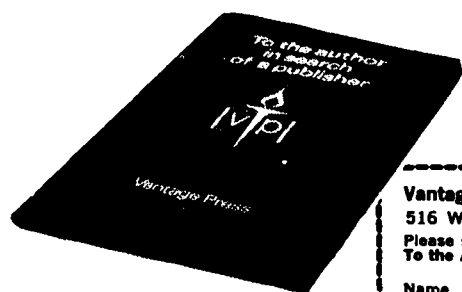

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A Congressman Objects

On The Right

Gstaad, Feb. 28—A fortnight ago I commented on a demagogic appearance on television by a congressman dumping on the oil industry for the benefit of those of his constituents who are particularly ignorant, manifestly the majority, since he is after all their representative. I judged, however, that no purpose would be served by identifying the gentleman, and so I gave him an assumed name. But now he writes me in high dudgeon demanding a reply, which under the circumstances I am forced to make.

He is Mr. Silvio O. Conte, a Republican from the First District in Massachusetts, and though I have never met him he addresses me as "Dear Bill," which is, alas, his only contribution to conviviality. He begins by saying that he takes "exception" to my "shrill ode to Triassic cerebrations." I don't know what that means, but cannot assume it matters.

He says it is fortunate I do not represent the people of the First District of Massachusetts. "Otherwise, they would have frozen or moved out long ago under the sponsorship of the oil import quota program." I am not sure what he means by that, except perhaps to suggest I have favored oil import quotas, which I have always opposed.

"If you have a reasonable solution for alleviating the plight of the thousands of New England families on fixed incomes who suddenly, within the space of three months, have to find some way to pay $500 more for heat this winter, I would be pleased to hear it. In the meantime, you cannot expect me to complacently watch corporate greed sap the economic vigor of my constituency."

And he concludes, "Allow me to return the ad hominem. In light of the egregiously excessive profits reported this week by Exxon and the other corporate fiefdoms, tell me, how did the Buckley oil barons fare in 1973?"

Well.

1. Since fuel oil in Boston has risen an average of 25 per cent, a family forced to pay an extra $500 is already paying $2,000. Anyone paying $2,000 for his winter supply of fuel is living on a fixed income I worry about not at all. Since the fuel bill of the average family represents approximately 2 per cent of its income—and that is for an entire year, not just for the winter—then the family paying $2,000 for fuel is earning about $100,000 per year.

2. The profit of the oil companies on fuel is approximately two cents per gallon. The tax by the government on fuel is, depending on where you live, somewhere between eight and 12 cents per gallon. So that the answer to Mr. Conte—excuse me, to Silvio—is: if you want to help these people, get off their backs—lower their taxes.

3. Silvio refers to the crisis that took place "within the space of three months." The only crisis that took place within the space of three months was a political crisis. Political crises are made by politicians, not businessmen. If Mr. Conte is displeased with the crisis in the Middle East, let him by all means do something about it. But to blame American oil producers for it is, well, a politician's diversion. Like worrying about the plight of someone living on fixed income after voting for inflationary budgets year after year.

4. The principal reason for the rise in oil company profits in 1973 compared to 1972 is that they were too low in 1972 for the health of the industry. And that was because of the silly and dangerous wage and price controls implemented by Mr. Nixon pursuant to authority given to him by Congress and voted for by Silvio.

5. Concerning my own situation, I regret to divulge the news that my holdings in oil in 1950 were worth more than my holdings in 1973. Alas, too many dry holes in between. And to reveal, further, that the oil stock in which I am predominantly interested was selling at $30 per share three months ago and is selling at $21 today.

And finally,

6. I reflect on my relative freedom to speak my mind. Whatever I say or write about oil affects my income by not a penny. By contrast, Silvio's income is 100 per cent dependent on whether he flatters his constituency, which, alas, he finds it easier to do by stimulating ignorance, rather than telling such truths as I specialize in communicating. □

CAMPAIGN IN BRITAIN

London, Feb. 26—Enoch Powell, that strange and I suspect thoroughly virtuous man—for all that his inflections were unguarded when a few years ago he spoke against unlimited immigration—has resigned his seat. As a matter of principle. It is so seldom that a politician resigns his seat as a matter of principle that the deed is both arresting and suspicious. When a Frenchman does it he is never to be trusted, whence the French origin of the phrase *reculer pour mieux sauter*: freely translated as one step backward, two steps forward. And of course it is not ruled out that Enoch Powell will come back as a leader of the Conservative Party. But it is very very doubtful. The odds against him are overwhelming.

For one thing, it is not widely understood exactly why he resigned, and that reason, when fully understood, is not the making of an irresistible political aphrodisiac. His own statement made the point that Mr. Heath is going to the country under false pretenses. He is going to ask the country to stand by him in resisting the demands of the coalminers. But, said Powell in effect, after Heath wins (if he wins) the first thing he will do is give in to the coalminers.

Mr. Powell's reasoning is, however, more intricate than one supposes merely from floating one's eyes past the paragraphs of his public announcement. He believes that wage and price controls are a fundamental fraud. That under the circumstances, the Conservative government will need to give in; and, having done so, prices will rise more or less uniformly, and a government selected on an anti-inflationary platform will produce—more inflation.

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Most people in Britain, to judge from public comments, do not believe he had to resign. But Powell is a very formal man, and he draws attention to the special place of party in English parliamentary life. If he had run as a Conservative, he maintains, implicitly he would have underwritten the hypocrisy of the present leadership. It is different from simply coasting along with the leadership of one's party when it makes decisions after coming to power. It is—he will tell you—rather as if in the middle of the Suez invasion, Anthony Eden had called an election. Those Conservatives thoroughly out of sympathy with Suez could not honorably have stood by.

So what for the future? What, for that matter, for the future of Britain? Mr. Bernard Levin, a fountain of trenchancy and anti-humbug, wrote devastatingly in the London *Times* a column exposing the fearful hypocrisies of the opposition. He gives four positions, taken from the Labor Party manifesto, and in response to hypothetical questions concerning them, gives the answers that honest Labor politicians would need to give and, alas, predictably will not give, the average politician being both less candid than, and less burdened by principle than, Enoch Powell.

It is a part of the platform of the Labor Party—please do not disbelieve me—that Britain should have a) price controls; but should not have b) wage controls. It is a part of the Labor Party platform that hundreds of millions of pounds could be trimmed from the military budget without in the least weakening NATO. It is a part of the Labor platform that there should be more nationalization of British industries in order to promote industrial peace. And it is a part of their platform that an extensive set of fresh benefits should be extended without raising taxes on lower or middle incomes.

The platform would have brought a smile to a grade school teacher, but it is true in Britain as increasingly in America that there is an accelerated acceptance of political inanity, and people are prepared to sit by and indulge the chubby little hand of the child trying to fit the square peg into the circular hole. It's true that every age despairs over the apparent deterioration of the quality of the public debate, and most references to this phenomenon begin by calling attention to the uniqueness of the current situation. Mr. Levin, for all that he burlesques the dissimulations of his countrymen, is in fact talking about those who will guide the fortunes of the mother of parliaments: and he is not, really, surprised, any more than the child surprises. But Britain's fate is very likely our fate. If democracy is finally traduced in England, why should it prosper elsewhere? □

DANCE OF THE TERRORISTS

Gstaad, Mar. 2—At the United Nations last fall the effort was made to take measures against terrorism. When the idea was first brought up, the year before, it struck everyone as manifestly a good idea. But then people began whispering that it was all a plot to perpetuate colonialism and imperialism. As a matter of fact it is true that most of the terrorism is in behalf of the "liberation" of the Palestinians, or of the blacks in Rhodesia, Angola, and Mozambique. Accordingly, there was a movement away from reform.

The sponsors tried to make it appealing by specifying a definition of terrorism as a brutal act directed against a non-national. Thus, the projected sanctions would not apply, say, against the assassination of a Portuguese living in Egypt by a member of the Angola Liberation Front, but would apply against the assassination of an Egyptian or a Japanese living in Egypt by a member of the Angola Liberation Front.

Even that didn't succeed. Then the happy thought occurred to the General Assembly that, uh, it was perhaps all right to acquiesce in terrorism against ordinary species of mankind, but killing diplomats was really quite wrong. On this point the diplomats of the United Nations were solemnly agreed, and accordingly they passed a Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons including Diplomatic Agents. Under its provisions, participating countries are supposed to extradite or punish terrorists who have abused diplomats residing locally.

Just after that happened, the carnage in Rome and Athens happened, where terrorists threw random hand grenades into an airliner killing over a dozen people of different nationalities. In the closing statement of the 28th General Assembly, chief U.S. delegate Tapley Bennett chided his colleagues. "[Expressions] of horror and revulsion and disapproval are not enough. The world waits for a forthright effort by this world organization to find means of safeguarding the innocent. To the shame of us all, we, the representatives of the world community, have failed to find common ground which would enable us to take adequate measures to prevent these offenses against humankind. As President Nixon said in a statement in Washington earlier today: 'Governments must resist terrorist demands since appeasement will not put an end to this international scourge.'"

Just two weeks ago a group of terrorists in Kuwait threatened to execute the Japanese ambassador and 13 members of the staff unless the Japanese sent an airplane to Singapore to pick up terrorists there who hijacked a freighter and were sitting in the harbor because the Coast Guard wouldn't let them go. The Japanese government capitulated within three hours and dispatched a plane. But the Kuwaiti authorities refused at first to permit it to land on Kuwaiti soil. Had they persisted, it might have gone thus: terrorists in, say, London seize the Kuwaiti ambassador and his staff and promise to execute them unless the Kuwaiti authorities permit the Japanese plane to land bringing the terrorists from Malayan authority. And of course if London refused to transmit the blackmail, then perhaps terrorists in New York could seize the British Consulate and threaten to kill in New York unless in London they force Kuwait to cooperate with Japan's intervention in Singapore . . .

Professor Ernest van den Haag, who is wise in almost all things, long ago penetrated the categorical arguments against capital punishment to make a few sensible distinctions. In times of war or revolution, there is only one punishment that actually works, and it is the death penalty, instantly executed. Because otherwise the convict can count on amnesty, particularly if the revolution is successful. In those countries where changes of government are as regular as the tide—Bolivia, for instance—there is no way to discourage a political crime of capital magnitude except by the death penalty because a life sentence in Bolivia translates into a sentence equal to a typical term of a Bolivian government, i.e., about six months.

All the stronger are the arguments for capital punishment in the case of terrorists. Athens, for instance, sentenced the grenade killers of last December to death, but instantly let it out that probably the Colonels would instead ship the terrorists to their native countries. Instantly there were acts of terrorism calculated to force the Greeks' hand. As long as the terrorists live, they inspire fresh acts of terrorism designed to spring them. The argument is not for offhand sentences of capital punishment, but for instant capital punishment for politically motivated murder or kidnapping. □

(Washington Star Syndicate, Inc.)

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Trans-O-Gram

By SVEND PETERSEN

DEFINITIONS

A. To arrange by systematic planning and united effort for the second time — 87 100 140 150 162 166 174 183 217 223

B. Any of several isomeric liquid paraffin hydrocarbons — 119 27 194 211 25 158

C. Protection given a person passing through certain areas — 152 14 212 58 113 173 187 227 48 125 159

D. Feature of a man's summer garment — 170 23 11 120 122 188 127 134 151 198 203 234

E. Males who provide most of the wherewithal for relief payments — 214 8 132 157 177 181 52 191 218 15

F. A cabdriver's biographer — 222 61 12 88 57 147 160 184 193 202

G. A unit of length — 228 99 135 207

H. An organization of merchants or manufacturers in a particular business — 10 112 114 164 171 208 96 153 186 189 225 1 206 7 19 69

I. An "intellectual" — 3 16 26 54 60 64 67

J. An expensive form of revenue — 13 5 110 123 53 126 156 83 97 102

K. A poem by Keats — 31 118 2 65 176 142 216 108

L. What a skunk might climb — 55 6 179 111 167 221

M. A type of violet — 130 44 149 201 180 33 72 136

N. Word formed when little Donald stirred his alphabet soup — 144 41 34 172 148 45 90

O. An early kind of bicycle or tricycle — 59 70 47 86 4 95 32 17 82 21

P. Unscramble ABANDON MEN! — 175 129 124 154 163 9 30 75 81 40

Q. The freezing of atmospheric moisture on the surface of an aircraft — 185 46 195 137 117

R. To make steadily less — 210 77 101 29 49 145 169

S. A city in Alabama — 215 37 196 92 230 51

T. An organization that serves both workers and those who hire them — 39 20 146 62 68 42 106 121 209 133 155 205 213 219 229 79

U. One who invests in business enterprises — 43 80 192 24 56 78 139 93 200 84

V. A notching — 71 115 182 199 226 22 28 35 50 138 161

W. Two felines traveling in opposite directions in Dixie — 94 231 107 143 178 131 103 220

X. A city in England — 98 36 66 85 197 168 104

Y. Not concealed or secret — 190 165 89 224 73

Z. What the baby said when asked a question — 204 232 91 74 116 38 141

a. An employer who underpays and overworks employees — 18 63 105 109 76 128 233

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 336 for solution of last Trans-O-Gram.

	1 H		2 K	3 I	4 O	5 J	6 L	7 H	8 E	9 P		10 H	11 D		12 F	13 J	14 C	15 E	16 I
17 O		18 a	19 H	20 T	21 O	22 V	23 D	24 U	25 B	26 I		27 B	28 V	29 R		30 P	31 K		32 O
33 M	34 N	35 V	36 X	37 S	38 Z	39 T	40 P		41 N	42 T		43 U	44 M	45 N	46 Q	47 O	48 C	49 R	50 V
51 S	52 E		53 J	54 I	55 L	56 U		57 F	58 C	59 O	60 I		61 F	62 T	63 a	64 I	65 K	66 X	
67 I	68 T	69 H	70 O		71 V	72 M		73 Y	74 Z	75 P	76 a		77 R	78 U	79 T		80 U	81 P	82 O
	83 J	84 U		85 X	86 O	87 A	88 F	89 Y	90 N		91 Z	92 S	93 U	94 W		95 O	96 H		97 J
98 X	99 G	100A		101R	102J		103W	104X	105a		106T	107W	108K	109a	110J	111L	112H		113C
114H	115V		116Z	117Q	118K	119B	120D	121T		122D	123J	124P		125C	126J	127D	128a	129P	130M
131W	132E		133T	134D	135G	136M	137Q	138V	139U	140A	141Z	142K	143W	144N	145R		146T	147F	148N
149M	150A	151D	152C	153H		154P	155T	156J	157E	158B	159C	160F	161V	162A		163P	164H	165Y	166A
167L	168X	169R	170D		171H	172N	173C	174A	175P	176K	177E	178W		179L	180M	181E	182V	183A	184F
185Q	186H	187C	188D		189H	190Y	191E	192U	193F	194B	195Q	196S	197X	198D	199V		200U	201M	202F
203D	204Z	205T	206H	207G		208M	209T	210R		211B		212C	213T	214E		215S	216K	217A	218E
219T		220W	221L	222F	223A	224Y		225H	226V	227C	228G	229T	230S	231W	232Z	233a	234D		

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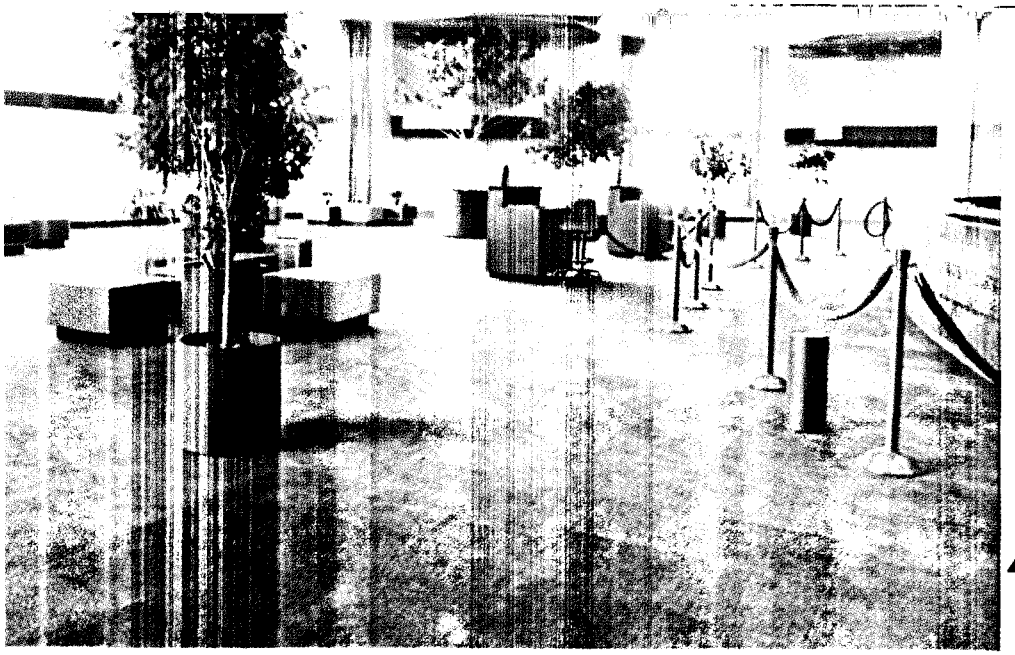

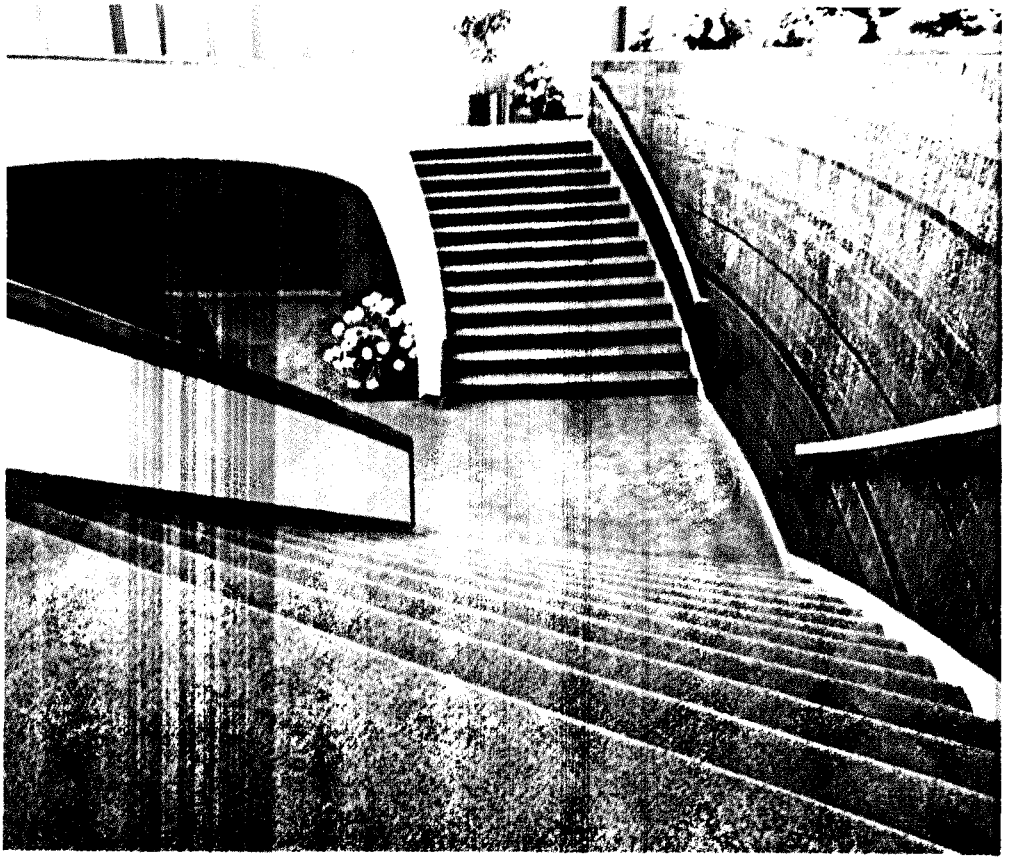

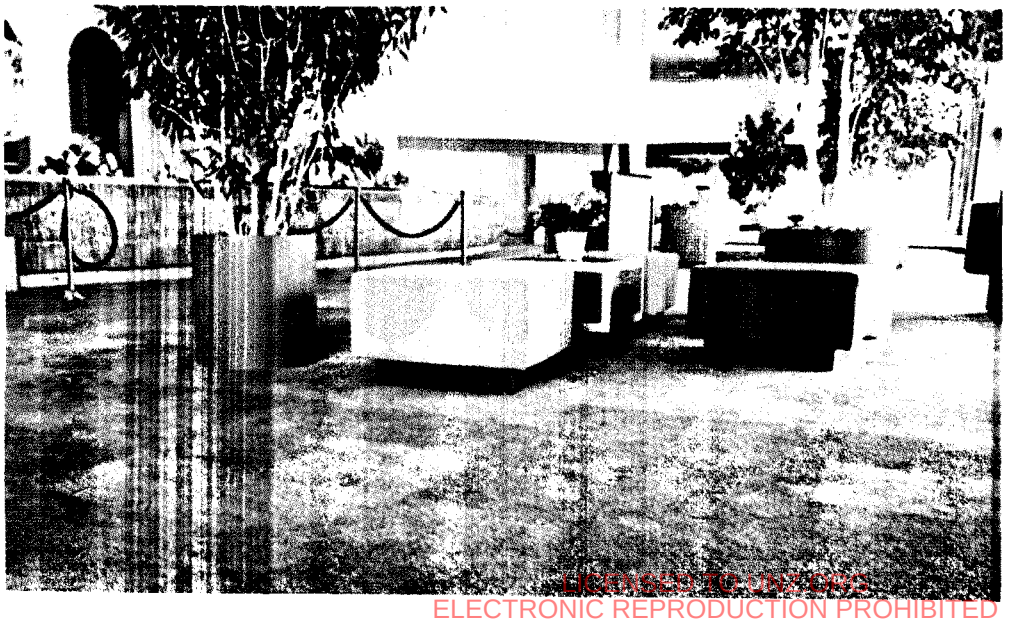

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